Wm Clarke

# AVGVSTVS CÆSAR:

*OR,*

## An ESSAY of those Meanes and Councels, WHEREBY *The Common-wealth of* ROME Was altered, and reduced unto a MONARCHY.

VIRG. Æneid. 6.

*Tu regere imperio Populos Romanos memento:*
*Hæ tibi erunt artes.*

LONDON,
Printed for *Henry Seile*, over against St. *Dunstans* Church in *Fleet* street,
1654.

# TO THE READER.

THis following ESSAY. long since written by the Author for his private satisfaction, is now by His consent made Common, and for Publique view. It containes in it, a Narration of the greatest Change, that ever happened in the Commonwealth and State of ROME. Yet not a naked Story, nor a bare Narration onely; but a briefe touch of all such Counsailes, and Arts of Empire, by the meanes whereof it was effected;

*fected; Such as could either bee collected out of the Authors of theſe Times, or gathered upon any probable Conjectures, or grounds of State. In which, he is ſo farre from hope of ſatisfying others, that as yet Hee hath not ſatisfi'd himſelfe, and cannot but be ſenſible, that he hath drawne this Picture of* AVGVSTVS *with too much ſhadow. Such as it is, I conſecrate to the Chriſtian Readers peruſall.*

Farewell.

AUGUS-

# AVGVSTVS.

## OR,

## AN ESSAY

## OF THOSE MEANES and Counsailes, by which the *Common-wealth* of ROME was altered, and reduced unto a *Monarchy*.

I.

THEY which have heretofore written of *Common-wealth*

*wealths*, have divided them into three Species: The government of the *King*; ſecondly, of the *Nobles*; and thirdly of the *People*. Eyther of theſe is againe ſubdivided into *good* and *evill*: The *evill* forme being onely the *good* corrupted; The *good* nothing elſe, but the *bad* refined. So is the government of a *King*, divided into a *Monarchy*, and a *Tyranny*: Of the *Nobles*, into an *Ariſtocracy*, and an *Oligarchy*: Of the *People* into a *Republicke*, and a *Democracy*. All theſe, as well in generall, as in the ſeveral couplets, have

a ſecret Inclination to change the one *into* the other, and to make a *Pythagoricall* tranſmigration (as it were) into each others being. I need not ſtand on many inſtances. The Cõmonwealth of *Rome* (into whoſe ſtories whoſoever looketh, will judge them rather to containe the acts of the whole World, then a particular Nation) will ſerve for all. ROMVLVS at the foundation of his City, reſerved unto himſelfe the chiefe Soveraignty, leaving it entire to his ſucceſſors. NVMA, ANCVS, TVLLIVS, TARQVINIVS PRISCVS,

PRISCVS, and SERVIVS, governed themſelves ſo moderately, the people ſo juſtly: that they affected not *Tyranny*; nor the Commons liberty. They appeared more deſirous to fill the *Coffers* of their Subjects, then their owne *Treaſuries*: And when neceſſity compelled them to a Taxe; they rather ſeemed to ſheere their ſheepe, then fleece them.

II.

BVt SVPERBVS, a man of inſupportable vices, having by violence enthronized himſelfe in that Chayre

Chayre of State, which had not his ambitious ſpirit beene impatient of delay, would have beene his rightfull Inheritance; made his gouernment anſwerable to his entrance, cruell and bloudy. How many men, eminent aſwell by their owne vertue, as their Parents Nobility, did hee cut off? How many did he for no cauſe promote, to make their fall the more remarkable? What part of the *Senate* was free from ſlaughter? What corner of the City from lamentations? Yet this was not all.

all. The miſerable *Romans* were viſited with Three plagues at once. *Pride* in the Father, *Cruelty* in the Mother, and *Luſt* inſatiable in their ſonne SEXTVS; a true *Copie* of the old *Originals*. Either of theſe had beene more then enough, to exerciſe the peoples patience. But meeting all at one time, it ſeemed that nothing could now bee added to the wretchedneſſe of the one, and the wickedneſſe of the other. BRVTVS, a man fatall to Tyrants, did eaſily perſwade the *Commons* to ſhake off this yoake.

yoake. For they, aſwell deſirous of *Novelties*, as ſenſible of *Oppreſſions*, had long ſince murmured at the preſent State; and wanted nothing but a head, to breake into actuall rebellion. So the *people* got the *freedome*, and the *Kings* loſt the *Dominion* of the City. (*An. V C.* 244.)

## III.

BRVTVS although hee wanted no faire title to the *Crowne*; yet eyther perceiuing how odious the name of *King* was growne;

growne; or perhaps willing to be rather the firſt *Conſull*, then the laſt *Prince*; inſtituted a new forme of Government. Wherein the ſway of all, was referred to the *Fathers* of the *City*: Out of whom two were annually choſen as chiefe of the reſt. Herein certainly hee dealt very adviſedly. For had he ſought to confirme himſelfe in the *Kingdome*, what could men judge, but that, not love to his Country was the cauſe that ſtirred him to take Armes; but deſire of Rule. Againe, beſides that

that ſecure *privacie*, is to bee preferred before hazardous *Royaltie*; what hope had hee to keepe the ſeate long, having by his owne example taught the people, both the *Theorie* and *practiſe* of *Rebellion*. Vnder this new *Ariſtocracy* the *Romã* affaires ſucceeded ſo proſperouſly, their dominions were inlarged ſo infinitly: that it may well bee queſtioned; whether the *Roman* fortune cauſed their greatnes; or their valour cõmanded their fortune. For the Governors not ſeeking wealth but honour, or not their owne wealth,

wealth but the publike; did ſo demean themſelves both in peace and warre: that there was betweene all, a vertuous emulation; who ſhould moſt benefit his Countrey.

## IV.

THis happineſſe was too great to continue long. The people had as yet no written *Statutes*: *Cuſtome* bearing moſt ſway; and the reſt of the *Law*, locked up in the breaſt of the *Iudges*. To avoid ſuch inconvenien-ces as might hence enſue, there

there were ſome men, knowne to be as ſound in judgement, as honeſt in their actions, deputed by a generall Commiſſion to take an abſtract of the *Gracian lawes:* according to the tenor whereof, the *people* framed their *lives*; the *Iudges*, their *ſentences*. Here followed the *Oligarchy* or *Decemvirate State* of *Rome*; (*An. V C.* 304.) but long it laſted not. For theſe new *Lords* joyning forces together, made themſelves rich with the ſpoyle of the *people:* not caring by what unlawfull meanes, they could

could purchaſe either profit or pleaſure. APPIVS CLAVDIVS, one of the *Decemviri*, was the breakneck of this government. Hee, unmindfull of LVCRETIA and the *Tarquins*, luſted after VIRGINIA; a woman though of lowe Condition, yet ſuch a woman, in whom beauty and vertue ſtrove for the preheminencie. She was, in an open aſſembly to prevent the diſhonor of his child, ſlaine by her Father: APPIVS forced to make away himſelfe, in priſon; and the reſt of that *Magiſtracie* abdicating

ting their Offices, the *Conſuls* were for a time reſtored.

## V.

THe *People* fleſhed with this victory, & calling to minde how their Anceſtors had in like manner baniſhed the *Kings*; began to know their owne ſtrength: and ſtomacked it exceedingly, that they on whoſe ſhoulders the frame of the State was ſupported, ſhould bee ſo much under the Command of others; that they who were *Lords* abroad, ſhould

ſhould be below the condition of *Slaves* at home. Hereupon they raiſe a tumult, under the conduct of their *Tribune*, CANVLEIVS. Nor could they by any perſwaſions bee induced to lay downe Armes, till they had obtained a *Decree*, That from thenceforth, the *Nobles* and the *Commons*, might promiſcuouſly bee married. And this was the firſt ſtep to the *Republique*. (*An. V C.* 308.) The gaining this new *Priviledge*, put them in poſſibility of obtaining greater. They now ſue to bee capable of the

the *Consulship*. The *Fathers* consulting of this demand, wisely fore-saw, that to grant their Petition, and to deny it was alike dangerous. For were it utterly dashed, it was to bee feared the *People* would againe forsake the *Citty*; and yet make their stay more insolent and insupportable, if it were granted. *C. Claudius*, one who by his honourable behaviour, was by both parties had in an equall degree of Reverence; quickly proposed a middle course; whereby the fury of the multitude

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might be appeaſed, without blemiſh to the *Conſular* dignity. He conſtituted 6. Annuall Officers, equally choſen out of the *People*, and the *Nobles:* calling them *Tribuni Militũ Cõſularis poteſtatis.* (*A.V.C.* 310). This Office continued, but not without many *Interſtitiúms*, the ſpace of 78. yeares. Which time expired, and ſome experience being had of the peoples government; the *Lords* of the *Senate* did decree, that one of the *Conſuls* ſhould frõ thenceforth be choſen by, and out of the *Commons*; that they

they ſhould be capable of all *Magiſtracies*; yea even of the *Dictatorſhip*. (*An. V.C.*388.) So that now vertue was as ſpeedy a Ladder, to climbe unto Honours, as *Nobility of Birth*: and a *good man* as much reſpected as a *great*. A rare felicity of the times.

## VI.

THe *People* being thus mixt with the *Nobles*, as well in marriages, as honours; one would

have thought that this *Common-wealth*, being thus equally poyſed had been immortall. But as in the *naturall body*, there can be no exact and *arithmeticall* proportion of the humors and elements, without ſome *predominancie*: So in the *body politique*, can there bee no equall mixture of *Plebeians* and *Patritians*, without the ſupremacy of the one or the other. The *people* had preſently after the inſtitution of the *Conſuls*, rayſed Commotion; and withdrew themſelves into *Mount Aventine*. No coul

could they bee intreated to returne into the *Citty*, till there were granted unto them peculiar *Officers*, called *Tribuni Plebis*, or Protectors of the Commons. (*A.V.C.*260.) Theſe being not long after by the common Councell, pronounced to bee *Sacroſancti*, and inviolable; began to heave the *Popular State* too high, and thruſt the *Ariſtocraticall* too low; not regarding to loſe the love of the one, ſo they might get the applauſe of the other. Inſomuch, that matters of judgement were

were devolved from the *Fathers* to the *Commons*; and the authority of the *Senate*, trode under foote by the *People*. Nay they proceeded ſo farre, That MARIVS being *Tribune*, threatned to ſend COTTA the *Conſull* unto Priſon. And SVLPITIVS in the ſame *Office*, made the *Conſuls* forſake the *Senate-houſe*: and ſlew one of their ſonnes, whoſe heeles were not nimble enough, to flye away. And now were the *Romans* governed by that forme of *Rule*, than which there is no lower. So that as well

well by an inevitable neceſſity in *Nature*, as the ordinary courſe of *Policies*, there muſt be a Receſſion to the firſt, and *Monarchicall* Iurisdiction. For queſtionleſſe it fareth many times with a *Common-wealth*, as with the *Sunne:* which runneth through all the ſignes of the *Zodiack*, till it return to the place where its motion firſt began. And the *Platonicke* yeare of reducing all things to the ſame beginning, continuance, and period; how falſe ſoever in the bookes of *Nature*, is in ſome ſort true

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in the change of Govern-ment.

## VII.

THe way downe-Hill is easie and ordinary but to ascend unto the top requireth both wit to frame steps, & courage to give the attempt. So was it here also wth the *Romãs*. They had naturally, & almost insensibly falne from a *Monarchy*, to a *Populacy*, or *Democracy*. But to ascẽd frõ a *Populacy* to a *Monarchy*, required many steps & degrees in many, much industry

duſtry in al. *Marius* & *Sylla*, well skilled in feeding the humors of the *people*, were the firſt that attempted, & ſeverally mounted to ſuch a height of *Cõmãd*, as never durſt any promiſe to thẽ, nor they hope for themſelves. *Marius* was of an harſh & ſterne nature, equally cruel to the *enemies* in war, & the *people* in *peace*: one whoſe birth the *Rom.* might have had juſt cauſe to curſe, had hee not ſaved thẽ from the *Cimbri*. *Sylla* was one whoſe cariage none could enogh cõmẽd before, or ſufficiently cõdemn after his proſperity.

A man, whoſe *Peace* was farre more bloudy than his *Warres*; a better *Subiect*, than a *Prince*. Theſe two gave way each to other, and both to death.

## VIII.

NExt theſe, as wel in faction and deſignes, as bloud and alliance, ſucceeded CÆSAR and POMPEY: Two men never truly paraleld, ſince their owne times. CÆSAR had a wit to invent ſo pregnant, a heart to execute ſo

ſo ſtout, and to both a Fortune ſo favourable; that hee durſt undertake what no man dared, and his performances commonly were anſwerable to his undertakings. POMPEY, a man greater than his owne or his friends wiſhes; had triumphed over all the parts of the knowne world: and could hee but have brooked an equall, hee had never met ſuperiour. Had theſe two lived in divers Ages, or exerciſed their valour on the common Enemy; the world had beene too little to yeeld them imploy-

ments.

ment. But turning their forces one againſt the other, POMPEY overthrowne in the *Field*, was baſely murthered in *Ægypt*: and CÆSAR victoriouſly Conquerour in *Theſſalie*, was barbarouſly maſſacred in the *Capitoll*. And though none of theſe foure Worthies, could ſettle the *Monarchie* in himſelfe; yet this ſhall bee to their eternall memory recorded, that they firſt opened the paſſage to others, and firſt mooved the ſtone, which rowling along tumbled the *People* out of the *Government*.

IX.

## IX.

AFter the overthrow of POMPEY, & death of CÆSAR, the *Commonwealth* might have recovered *Liberty*, if either CÆSAR had left no heire, and POMPEY no Children: or rather if ANTONIVS, a man of an unquiet and turbulent ſpirit, had not begun new troubles. For hee, knowing the affection of the *Common people* unto young OCTAVIVS, CÆSARS heire: and

and hearing the continuall report of his approach to *Rome* for his Inheritance; did by *Decree* of *Senate* reſtore SEXTVS the ſonne of POMPEY to his blood and honours. Hoping that they two, inheriting their Fathers hatreds, would like Pellets in a Boyes Pot-gun, drive out each other; and ſo he might remaine *Lord* of the whole. But young OCTAVIVS, was too old to be ſo fetcht over: and had moreover more deſire to revenge his Fathers death on BRVTVS and CASSIVS, than turne him-

himſelfe upon an enemy, that neither had done, nor could doe him any hurt. At his firſt entry into *Rome*, hee declared himſelfe CÆSARS heire; though ſome regarding more his welfare than his honour, diſſwaded him from it. His retinue at his entrance was but ſmall, his behaviour gentle and courteous: So that all had cauſe to love him, none to feare him. His firſt buſineſſe was to ANTONIVS, then poſſeſſed of all CÆSARS eſtate. His words as modeſt, as his Petition juſt. ANTO-

NIES

NIES anſwere ſomewhat churliſh, forbidding him to meddle in matters of *State*, that hee was too young to take upon him the *Name* of CÆSAR, and ſo diſmiſſed him unſatisfied.

## X.

AVGVSTVS (for by that name wee meane to call him, though hee was not yet ſo called) perceiving that ANTHONIES anſwer, though in ſhew but a *Delay*, was in effect

a

a *Deniall:* inſinuated into the acquaintance of CICERO, then potent among the Senators, and a capitall Enemy of ANTHONY; by meanes whereof the *Lords* of the *Senate*, began to caſt great affection towards him. Next in a ſolemne Oration to the *People*, he let them know, how he intended to have diſtributed his Fathers wealth among them; and how ANTONIVS did unjuſtly detain it from them both. Certainly there is not any thing prevaileth ſooner with the ignoble men, than hope of gaine. No ſooner

ſooner had he finiſhed his ſpeeches, and given away that to them which hee thought impoſſible to get for himſelfe; but all was in a tumult. None was ſo ſparing of his words, but hee had ſome curſe in ſtore for ANTONIVS: Every one vowing the deſtruction of that man; whom they ſuppoſed to deprive them of AVGVSTVS Donative.

XI.

## XI.

IN this hurly burly ANTHONY quits the Towne, and is by the generall voyce of both houſes, declared an enemy to the State. An army is given to HIRCIVS & PANSA then *Conſuls*: AVGVSTVS aged but xviij. yeres, being proclaimed *Imperator*, and made head of the League againſt the common foe. AVGVSTVS, as he loved not to bee abſent from a neceſſary warre; ſo

ſo hee alwayes uſed to reſerve himſelfe from the dangers of it: and therfore he committed the whole enterpriz e unto the Conſuls. Well knowing, that though the Officers and ſoldiers took moſt paines to get the Victory; yet would the honor of it be referred to him, as *Imperator*. Whereas, if any thing fell out to the Army, not well; his beeing a *Non agent* in the buſines, would bring his honor off without ſtaine. The *Conſuls* therefore proceed in the warre againſt *Anthony*: who ſeeing little poſſibility

ty of prevailing, resolved to sell the losse of his own liberty, and his soldiers lives at a deare rate. And indeed the fortune of the day was so equally shared, that as the *Consuls* might boast of the vanquishment of ANTONY; So ANTONY might triumph in the death of the *Consuls*.

## XII.

AVGVSTVS now had as much as he could desire, more than hee expected; a populous Army at

at his ſervice. He therefore applyes himſelfe ſo to them, that giving that among them which he had in preſent, and promiſing them greater favours, according as his fortune and their valour ſhould advance him: he bound thē unto him in an eternall bond of allegiance; and made them the firſt ſtep by which he aſcended the *Royalty*. The *Lords* of *Rome* hearing of the yonug mans fortune, thought it beſt to ſtrangle theſe hopes even in their Cradles: and to that end, Decree the honour of overcomming

comming ANTONY, not to belong unto AVGVSTVS, but to D. BRVTVS; for whoſe defence (being beſieged by ANTONY in *Mutina*) their Army had bin levied. Nor did they thinke this froſt of unexpected unkinkneſſe, ſufficient to nip the bloſſome of his hopes: but they denyed him the *Conſulſhip*. Theſe harſh proceedings compelled AVGVSTVS, his honour now lying at the ſtake, to enter *Rome* as *Conquerour*; and force the *Fathers* to grant him his deſires. Having thus gotten what for the time

hee

he aymed at, he generally ſhewed himſelfe gratefull to all, and particularly to ſome of the Souldiers: paying them what was behind by promiſe; and openly proteſting that without their ayde hee durſt not have adventured into the *Capitoll*. So by keeping his day with the *Military men*; and ſhewing his Noble and generous Nature, in a thankfull Commemoration of their ſervice, hee added ſtronger bonds to ſuch as were already his owne; and won many dayly to his ſide, which before were eyther

eyther *Neutrall*, or Adverſaries.

## XIII.

ANTONY in the meane time was not idle; but knowing that LEPIDVS was beyond the Mountaines with a puiſſant Army, he poſted thither: and ſo farre prevailed with the Soldiers, that he was admitted into the Campe; where the *Generall* entertained him with all expreſſions of love and welcome. ANTONY

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TONY perceiving the facile nature of *Lepidus*, ſoone perſwaded him to leade his forces into *Italy*: promiſing him no leſſe than the Lordſhip of the world, if he durſt but ſhew his face to the *Romans*. *Auguſtus* having continual newes of this combinatiõ, and fearing much the proweſſe of *Antony*, now ſtrengthened; conceived no cauſe ſo fitting and convenient to his ends, as to joyne friendſhip, and to enter into confederacy with them. (*A.V.C.*710.) And this he did, not for any good will to eyther, but

but becauſe being deſtitute of meanes to reſiſt them, and alſo to revenge the death of his Father IVLIVS, which hee much laboured; he might with their forces oppreſſe CASSIVS and M. BRVTVS and after as occaſion fell out, deale with them beeing ſevered.

## XIV.

THis League was ſolemnly cõfirmed by a bloudy *Proſcription*, immediatly following. Wherin

be revenged on their *enemies*, they betrayed their *friends*. A lamentable and ruthfull time, good and bad, rich and poore, being alike subject to the slaughter. Now was the time of IVLIVS CÆSARS Government, thought to be the golden age: and every one began to curse BRVTVS and CASSIVS as the Authors of these present miseries: whom they but lately honoured as the Restorers of the *Commonwealth*. Nay the very *Kings* were deemed tolerable; and such as lived in their dayes, happy. The poore

poore *Romans* had not changed the *Tyranny*, but the *Tyrants*. Yea they had three for one into the bargaine. Such is the quality of us men; we know not our owne happineſſe in the *fruition*, but the *want*. Two of theſe *Triumviri* glutted themſelves with bloud, taking pride in hearing the lamentable cryes and groanes of the *people*. AVGVSTVS on the contrary ſhewed himſelfe much grieved at this barbarous cruelty: ſo that his conſent ſeemed rather forced than voluntary.

## XV.

THis *Proſcription* in it ſelfe, though cruell & tyrannicall, yet produced ſome good and profitable effects in the *Republicke*. For when by this *Proſcription* and the inſuing Civill warre, the ſtouteſt of the *Nobles* and *Commons* were made away; few beeing left which durſt endeavor to recover the old *Liberty*: AVGVSTVS did the more eaſily eſtabliſh his *Monarchy*, and reſtore

reſtore peace to the City. Moreover the proſecutiō of this cruelty ſo incenſed the people againſt *Anthony* and *Lepidus*, that *Auguſtus*, whom moſt held excuſable, found them alwayes his faſt friends; if not for love to him, yet in ſpight to them. I cannot here omit the like effect ſpringing frō the like cauſe, in our *Rich.* 3. Who (though far enough frō conceiving any ſuch happy event) made riddance of ſo many in the then factious *families:* that leaving a Male in the one, and a female in the other, ſurviving;

this *Kingdome* by a marriage betweene them grew well ſetled, which might otherwiſe have beene againe indangered by ſome new competitors. So unſearchable are the judgements of GOD, and his wayes paſt finding out. But to proceed. *Antony* & *Auguſtus* leaving the guard of the City to *Lepidus*, and with joynt forces march againſt BRVTVS and CASSIVS, both overthrowne by ANTONY: whom therefore did AVGVSTVS put upon that ſervice, as well to diminiſh ANTONIES forces; as to keepe his

his owne, entire. As for himſelfe, eyther he in policy ſuffered himſelfe to be driven out of the field by BRVTVS, to make ANTONY more worke: or elſe indeed durſt not abide the battell. Such end had BRVTVS and CASSIVS: Two men, whom Fortune ſeemed to be in love with on the ſuddain, and did as ſuddainly forſake them. BRVTVS the more accompliſhed man; CASSIVS the more expert ſoldier. (*A. V. C.* 711.)

XVI.

## XVI.

I Paſſe over AVGVSTVS wars in *Italy*, ANTONIES in *Aſia*: the diſcontents betweene them, and their reconciliation by the meanes of OCTAVIA, Siſter to the one, and Wife to the other *Emperor*. As alſo how joyning forces together to oppreſſe *Sextus*, then Lording it over the Sea, and proud with the conqueſt of *Sicilia*: they received him into the *Confederacie*, and joyned

ned the Iſland of *Sardinia*, to his other conqueſts. To recompence which kindnes, *Sextus* invited the two *Generals* aboord his *Admirall Galley*: and after a bountifull entertainment, return'd them ſafe to their Campes. I ſcarce have ever heard ſo great an overſight, among ſo many able Politicians. And much I marvell with my ſelfe, upon what confidence *Auguſtus* and *Anthony*, durſt ſo far truſt their perſons to a reconciled Enemy: or on what reaſon *Sextus* having both of them in his power would let ſlip ſo ſlightly that ad-

advantage ; greater than which was never offered to a diſcontented and ambitious perſon. This I am ſure of, that he afterward repented it ; and could have wiſhed that hee had hearkened to the voyce of MENAS his old ſervant ; who had perſwaded him to make his beſt of that opportunity. The Kings of *France* and *Arragon*, of old enemies made new friends, had the like enterview at *Savona* : which that notable Hiſtoriographer , and Stateſ-man GVICCIARDINE, deſcribeth with much wonder and

and Commendation. Yet in the like caſe, have many, and as I thinke, worthily, condemned LEWIS the 11. and CHARLES of *Burgundy*, the Archpoliticians of thoſe dayes: in that LEWIS at *Peronne*, put himſelfe into the hands of CHARLES his Enemy; who alſo after a ſhort reſtraint, diſmiſſed him.

## XVII.

THeſe ſolemne expreſſions of amity betweene

tweene the three *Generals*, being thus ended; and ANTONY gone for *Egypt*: AVGVSTVS then began to contrive his eſtabliſhment in the *State*, though with the ruine of his *Colleagues*. Hee beginneth firſt with SEXTVS, having by gifts and promiſes drawne MENAS unto his ſide; who by reaſon of his inwardneſſe with his Maſter, knew moſt of his deſignes. By the directions of this MENAS, and the aſſiſtance of LEPIDVS, he quickly overthrew SEXTVS: who flying death in *Europe*, by the hand of AVGVSTVS: found

found it in *Aſia*, by the command of ANTONY. After this victory, AVGVSTVS eyther having or pretending a quarrell againſt LEPIDVS; entreth into his Campe, ſeiſeth his perſon, and depriving him of all honours, confineth him to *Rome*. A man that halfe againſt his will, ſtumbling upon the Government; had beyond any deſert of his, enjoyed ten yeares continuance of Empire and proſperity.

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XVIII.

## XVIII.

AVGVSTVS durſt not have beene ſo venturous, if ANTONY had beene in *Italy*. He therefore adviſedly removed him out of his way, before he would attempt this action. It hath beene ever a chiefe *Maxime* in *Court-policy*, to remove that man out of the way, under pretence of ſome honourable charge: whom we intend eyther to caſt from his preſent honours; or

or elſe to make leſſe potent with *Prince* and *People*. For which cauſe did AVGVSTVS alſo perſwade ANTONIES abſence from the City; to bring him at the laſt into diſcredit, and contempt. His dotage on CLEOPATRA, could not but draw him into many inconveniences. Neyther could his neglecting the *State*, to Ryot with his *Lemman*; bee other than diſtaſtfull to the *Lords* and *People*. Next, he commanded his Siſter OCTAVIA, to leave her Husband ANTONIES houſe, yet privately hee perſwaded her

to

to live there ſtill, & bring up his children: that ſo the *Romans* ſeeing her noble demeanor and love to her Husband; might the more heartily deteſt him; who ſo ignobly and unkindly had rejected her. to adde more fuell to this flame of hatred, he readeth ANTONIES will unto the people: in which many of the *Roman* Provinces were bequeathed to CLEOPATRAES children; and other things ordained to the common prejudice. ANTONY likewiſe preferred many Bils againſt *Auguſtus*; as that he had depoſed

posed *Lepidus* from the *Triumvirate*; that he had divided *Italy*, amongst his own soldiers only; that he had not restored the ships, borrowed to make warre against SEXTVS.

## XIX.

THose discontents seconded with an ambitious hope of prevailing; made them both resolute to refer all to the decision of a Battell. *Antony* had a fleet consisting of 500. Ships, high built, and trimmed up rather for a Triumph, than

than a fight. His Land forces consisted of 100000. foot, and 12000. Horse. AVGVSTVS had the like number of Horsemen, 80000. foot, and 250. good *Men of Warre*, snug and close, built more for use than ostentation. The *Rendesvous* is *Actium*, a place seeming to be marked out for notable designes: Here being fought also in our fathers dayes, that famous battaile; wherein the *Venetians* gave the world to understand, that the *Turkes* forces by Sea, were not invincible. ANTONY was on the

the Offenſive ſide, and therefore much doubted whether it were better to give the Onſet by Sea or by Land. CLEOPATRA whoſe words were *Oracles*, perſwaded him to the Sea-fight: not that ſhee thought it more ſafe, but that if ANTONY loſt the day, ſhe might with more facility eſcape.

## XX.

TO this reſolution, when moſt of the Captaines had for feare agreed;

greed; one of the old ſoldiers thus bluntly gainſayd it. "What a miſe-
"rable ſecurity art thou
"poſſeſſed withall, moſt
"noble Emperor? Where
"is that ancient fore-
"ſight, wherewith thou
"haſt formerly preven-
"ted all diſaſters; and tur-
"ned the enemies deviſes
"on their owne heads?
"Conſider with thy ſelfe
"Noble *Generall*, what
"uncertaine friends the
"*Wind* and *Sunne* are?
"To how fickle an Ele-
"ment thou doſt truſt thy
"fortune. Let the *Ægyp-*
"*tians* and *Phœnicians* old
"*Mermaides*, borne and

"nurſt up in the Sea, fol-
"low this kind of war-
"fare. But let us thy true
"*Roman* ſpirits, try our va-
"lor on the firme land; &
"there fight for thy *Empire*
"and our owne *lives*. Per-
"haps thou doſt miſtruſt
"our faith. Look here *An-*
"*tony* (with that he opened
"his boſome) & thou ſhalt
"ſee many an honbl. ſcar,
"got in thy ſervice. Wee
"are now too old to learn
"new treaſons. Alter thy
"reſolution; & to pleaſe a
"woman caſt not away ſo
many: certenly, the powers
of heavē whē they decree
a mans deſtruction over-
throw thoſe Coun-

Counſels by which hee ſhould eſcape it. ANTONY turneth a deafe eare to this Souldiers wholſome advice: and borrowing frō CLEOPATRA two or three kiſſes, as if from the fountaine of her lips hee had derived all his courage; without any more ceremony, prepareth himſelfe unto the battaile.

## XXI.

AVGVSTVS on the other ſide, ſeeing a neceſſity of a Sea-fight, was yet

yet in this comforted; that his Vessels were more useful and better manned, though fewer than his enemies. That his men to him were faithfull, and by reason of their many Victories, in good heart. But from ANTONY there daily revolted some Kings and Captaines of note, to the great encouragement of the one side, and disheartning of the other. The whole charge of the warre hee committed to M. VIPSANVS AGRIPPA, who failing in no duty of a good Captaine, tooke from his Galleyes

whatſoever mighr be impediments to the valiant, or ſhelter to the Cowardly; all that was comberſome to his owne men, or advantagious to the enemie.

## XXII.

THings thus ordered; and the battaile ready to joyne, AVGVSTVS CÆSAR ſtanding where hee might ſee and bee ſeene of all, is ſayd to make this or "the like Oration. Fel- "lowes and Companions in

"in Armes, I ſuppoſe it
'needleſſe, to hearten you,
'which never were ac-
'quainted with feare; or
'bid you overcome, wch
'never yet knew what it
'was, not to vanquiſh.
'Conqueſt hath alwayes
'ſate upon the edges of
'your ſwords, and victo-
'ry beene written in your
'fore-heads. Be not now
'backward to adde this
'one to your other try-
'umphs. When after the
'death of my father *Iulius*,
'of famous memory, I firſt
'dealt in matters of warre;
I rather found, than made
'you good ſoldiers. And
during D 2 this

" this twelve yeares ſer-
" vice under me, neyther
" have you beene wanting
" in the duty of faithfull
" followers; nor I (I hope)
" of a vigilant and grate-
" full Leader. Sure I am,
" I expreſſed my ſelfe as
" farre as I could; and
" more I would, had I
" beene able. Let not the
" number nor the great-
" neſſe of the adverſe
" Gallyes, any way af-
" fright you. The huge-
" neſſe of the Bulkes, ma-
" keth them unapt for im-
" ployment: and the mul-
" titude over-clogging &
" hindring the others; may

as

"as much further our
"victory as theirs. They
"exceed us in multitudes
"of *Men*; wee them in
"number of *Soldiers*. The
"meaning of the word
"*Pilot*, is unknowne a-
"mong them. And for
"their *Mariners*, the beſt
"of them are but *Carters*,
"*Reapers*, and *Harveſtmen*,
"raked out of the field;
"the reſt the excrement
"of common priſons:
"wherewith their Veſſels
"are loaded, not manned.
"The *Generall* is indeed a
"fit *Captaine*, for ſuch a
"ſelected company. It is
"the ſame ANTONIE

" whom you once drave
" out of the Field before
" *Mutina*. I perſwade my
" ſelfe, that neyther hee
" dares thinke of recove-
" ring, or you of loſing,
' your former glories. It is
' the ſame *Antony* who be-
" ing ſhamefully chaſed
" out of *Parthia*; onely in
" that he was not *vanqui-*
" *ſhed*, proclaimed him-
" ſelfe *Victor*. It is the
" ſame ANTONY, who in-
" tendeth to make *Rome*
" ſubject to the *Egypti-*
" *ans*; and to diſtribute
" the *Provinces*, purcha-
" ſed with the bloud and
' treaſure of our *Anceſtors*;
amongſt

'amongſt *Iras*, and her fe l-
'low Chamber-maides.
'Nay indeed, it is not *An-*
'*tony* at all; but the ſha-
'dow onely of that ſub-
'ſtance, which now is hid
'in *Cleopatra's* Cabbin.
'Courage then brave men
'of Armes; Bee, as you
'have ſtill beene, *Conque-*
'*rors*. To ſpeake more,
'were to detein you frō
'Victory. Onely this, call
'to minde your ancient
'valour. Remember that
I am CÆSAR, you *Ro-*
*mans*.

XXIII.

## XXIII.

THis ſpeech animated the new Soldiers, and confirmed the old: So that with a generall acclamation, they give the aſſault. Death, wounds, and blowes diſhed in divers faſhions, and ſerved in by ſeverall men, were the beſt delicates prepared for theſe unwelcome viſitants. CLEOPATRA beholding the battaile, and doubting the ſucceſſe; through the thickeſt of

AN-

ANTHONIES fleet, made away with the 60. Gallyes appointed for her Guard. This diſorder made the breach at which the victory entred. *Antony* ſeeing her flight, left his ſquadron alſo: and being taken into her Galley, hoyſed ſayle for *Ægypt*. Herein playing the part of a cowardly Soldier; whilſt each of his Soldiers executed the Office of a couragious *Generall*. For they ſo obſtinately perſiſted in the fight, that AVGVSTVS was faine to offer them mercy ſooner than they would demand

it; and divers time, before they would accept it. At laſt they all ſware Allegeance unto him. (*An. V. C.* 723.)

## XXIV.

AVGVSTVS no loſer of advantages, ſpeedeth into *Egypt*, which he reduceth into the forme of a *Province*; making the people pay for fine 20. Millions of gold. By receiving this money he ſo weakned them, that they had no ability to raiſe an

after

after warre; and by diſtributing part of it among his ſoldiers, he confirmed them in obedience. As for ANTONY he ſeeing his fortunes deſperate, redeemed the honours loſt in his life, by a noble and heroick death. And *Cleopatra* ended her life, alſo not long after; a woman more welfavored than faire; welſpoken, rather than either. *Antonies* Courtiers had ſeene many Ladies more lovely, none more prevailing; men being cheyned to her by the eares, rather than the eyes.

XXV.

## XXV.

I Willingly omit AVGVSTVS entry into *Rome*; as alſo the ſtate and Magnificence of his *Triumph*. His victory he uſed ſo juſtly, that none felt the fury of the warre, but ſuch as were ſlaine in the *Battaile*. To aſſure himſelfe of *Antonies* adherents, was his firſt care: burning in the *Common-Forum*, the Coffers of ANTONIE, unopened; wherein all his Letters from

from his friends in *Rome*, had beene incloſed. Well knowiug that as long as any thought themſelves ſuſpected adverſaries, they would neuer ſhew themſelves true friends. To the *Senators* and *Magiſtrates*, he made ſumptuous feaſts. To the *Common-people*, hee exhibited magnificent and pleaſing ſtage-playes: and with all varietie of pleaſure baniſhed from both, aſwell ſorrow for the old *Proſcription*, as feare of a new.

XXVI.

## XXVI.

THere were two men moſt deare unto him, and privy to his Counſels; MECENAS and AGRIPPA: which in the object of their love differed onely in this; *Mecenas* was a lover of AVGVSTVS; *Agrippa* of the *Emperor*. *Mecenas* was of the ranke of *Knights*, a man of good and bad parts equally cõpounded. When his buſineſſe required care, vigilant and circumſpect; at lei-

leiſure times, exceſſively vertuous. *Agrippa* was the firſt of his houſe, a man alike fit for Campe and Counſell; one neither careleſſe of a good name, nor covetous of a great. For although hee onely was the man, which vanquiſhed *Sextus* and *Antony*: yet well skilled in the humours of Princes, he gave AVGVSTVS the honor of all his Conqueſts; making the vertue, not the reward, the end of his actions. So by doing nobly, and ſpeaking modeſtly of it, he was without envy, but not without glory.

XXVII

## XXVII.

WIth these two Augustus withdrew into a private Closet, and then brake unto them in this sort. Hee made first unto thē a long discourse of the Civill warres. Then "added, That having by "his owne fortune, and "the valor of his soldiers, "put an end to the trou-"bles; he was unresolved "what to doe; Whether "to resigne the *Empire*, "to the *People*; or re-

'taine it ſtill in his owne
'owne hands. That in a
'buſineſſe of ſuch impor-
'tance, he durſt not relye
'altogether on his owne
'wiſedome. That hee had
'made them his judges, as
'men that could ſpeake
'ſoundly, and durſt ſpeake
'freely: That he knew thē
'to haue more care of his
'honour, than profit; but
'of the *Common-wealth*,
'more than both: That
'his Counſels, which
'courſe ſoever he tooke,
'would not bee by them
'eliminated. Hee there-
'fore intreated them to
'conſider what was to be
done,

'done, and to give up their
'verdicts.

## XXVIII.

AGRIPPA after a
short silence thus be-
"gan. I know thou canst
"not but marvell, O CÆ-
SAR, that I, who under
"thine *Empire*, am sure to
'be beyond precedent ex-
'alted; should perswade
'thee to live private. I e-
'steeme more thy honor,
'than my profit; the pub-
'lique good, than my
'particular preferment.

And

"And yet perhaps my
'Counſell ſhall be as pro-
'fitable, if not applauſible
'as the contrary. I know
'thee to be no way deligh
'ted with lyes & flattery;
'and will therefore deale
'with thee freely and
'plainly. Thou haſt indeed
'put a period to the *Civill*
'*warres*; but to what end,
'unleſſe thou doſt reſtore
'unto the *Common-wealth*
'the liberty for which the
'wars were raiſed? What
'benefit can the people
'reape frō thy *Victory*, if
thou doſt uſe it only as an
inſtrumēt for their greater
'bōdage? Doſt thou think
that the *Romans*

" *Romans* having ſo many
" hundred yeares maintai-
" ned their liberty; will
" now be willing to fore-
" goe it? No CÆSAR, no.
" Flatter not thy ſelfe
" with theſe hopes. *Mari-*
" *us* the younger, and *Ser-*
" *torius*, were quickly cut
" off when their ends were
" once knowne; and IV-
" LIVS thy Father of hap-
" py Memory, did not
" long live, after his acti-
" ons ſeemed to bring the
" *Common-liberty* in ha-
" zard. And ſhall we think
" that there is no true *Ro-*
" *man* ſpirit ſurviving;
" No BRVTVS living, to
attempt

"attempt the like againſt
"thee? Believe mee CÆ-
"SAR, believe me, it is far
"better not to meddle
"with the *Empire* at all;
"than to bee forced to a-
"bandon it. But ſay, Di-
"vine Providence will ſo
"protect thee, that thou
"mayſt out-live ſuch pra-
"ctices; & ſhalt thou alſo
"not out-live thy glories?
"This preſent age per-
"chance will not cenſure
"their actions, becauſe it
"dares not. Bnt Poſterity
"free from all reſpects of
"love or hatred, cannot
"but call them into que-
"ſtion; and brand thy en-

ter-

" enterprise with *ambiti-*
" *on*, and perhaps *Tyranny*.
" If thy designes prosper,
" they will judge thee to
" have risen unjustly; if
" otherwise, to have falne
" deservedly. How much
" better then were it, now
" when thine honour is
" without blemish, and
" thy reputation unstai-
" ned; to resigne thy au-
" thority? Inded when
" SEXTVS lorded it over
" the Sea, and ANTONY o-
" ver *Ægypt*; it might
" have been thought want
" of spirit, to have depo-
" sed thy selfe from the
" Government. But now

to

"to doe it, when thou art
"without *Rivall*, in thy
"*Empire*; now, when
"thou art ſole *Com-*
"*mander* of the worlds
"forces; now when the
"*People* and *Senate*, lye
"proſtrate at the feet of thy
"mercy; were to ſtrike
"dumbe detraction, and
"to make the world ad-
"mire thy Temper.
"Thou art at this preſent
"the joy and comfort of
"the world; there is wan-
"ting to thee neyther
"wealth nor fame. Heere
"then fix thy foot. For go
"but one ſtep beyond this
"*Non ultra*, and thou wilt
run into a bound-

" boundleſſe Ocean of pe-
" rils, which have no end,
" but the end of thy life
" and reputation.

## XXIX.

" NOt ſo, excellent AGRIPPA, replyed
" MECENAS. I never hard
" good *Pilot* finde fault
" with *Sea-roome*; or of
" more Veſſels caſt away
" in the *Ocean*, than in the
" Streights and narrow
" paſſages. Our *Republicke*
" is a Ship, fraught with
" divers Nations: Shee
hath

" hath beene long toſt on
" the Waves of *Civill diſ-*
" *ſentions*, long driven up
" and downe with the
" Wind of ambition: and
" there is now no place
" ſo fit for her ſafety, as
" the unlimited *Ocean* of
" one mans power. This
" *Empire* at firſt riſing, ſee-
" med not to require a
" *Monarch*; but it is now
" grown too unweedly, to
" be without one. Take
" then upon thee, O CÆ-
" SAR, this Empire; or to
" ſay better, doe not for-
" ſake it. I ſhould never
" thus adviſe thee, did I
" conceive any poſſible

" inconveniences. The *Se-*
" *nate* doth allow thee a
" competent guard of va-
" liant and faithfull ſoldi-
" ers; whō then ſhouldeſt
" thou feare? Nay ill may
" I proſper, if I ſee any
" cauſe of feare, were thy
" Guard caſhiered. Ene-
" mies thou haſt none. For
" ſuch as were, are either
" already ſlaine by thy va-
" lor, or made faſt friends
" by thy bounty and cle-
" mency. To omit *Mari-*
" *us* and *Sertorius*, I will
" litle touch at thy Fathe-
" *Iulius*. He too good a ſol-
" dier to be a *Statiſt*, wa-
" too heady and violent i-
eſt

"establishing his govern-
"ment. Nor could he cun-
"ningly temporize, and
"suffer the *people* insensi-
"bly, and by degrees, to
"drop into bondage; but
"oppressed thē all at once.
"Againe he committed a
"great *Solecisme* in *State*,
"when discharging his
"*Guard*, he sought to retain
"that *Emp.* by faire means,
"wch he had gotē by vio-
"lence. I know thee O *Cæ-*
"*sar*, to be of a more wary
"and cunning behaviour.
"Learn also to worke out
"thine owne safety, by
"POMPEYS misfortunes.
"Hee after the finishing

" of the *Ponticke warre*,
" at *Brunduſium*, disbanded
" his Army: and thereby
" merited to bee accoun-
" ted an honeſt and mode-
" rate man. Certainly, he
" ſhewed himſelfe in the
" courſe of this action, ra-
" ther vertuous than for-
" tunate and politicke.
" For preſently he begin
" to be contemned, and by
" this improvident weak-
" ning of himſelfe, made
" an open paſſage to his
" owne ruine. I commend
" his modeſty more than
" his braine; Neyther did
" hee himſelfe on better
" conſiderations, approve
his

"his owne doings; and
"therefore hee reſolved,
"had he beene Victor in
"*Pharſalia*, never to have
"committed the like O-
"verſight. So is it, and ſo
"will fall out with thee,
"O CÆSAR, if in this acti-
"on thou propoſe him
"to be thy Patterne. It is
"not ſafe AGRIPPA ſaith,
"to take the *Empire*:
"leſſe ſafe is it to refuſe
"it. A ſetled & innative
"vice it is in man, never
"to endure that any man
"above our owne rancke,
"ſhould overtop us. *Romes*
"ſecond founder *Camil-*
"*lus*, *Scipio*, that ſcourge

"of *Carthage*, were disgra-
'ced; and *M. Coriolanus* ba-
'nished by our Ancestors:
'only because their worth
'had lifted them above the
'ordinary pitch of sub-
'jects. Doe not thou hope
'to fare better than thy
'Predecessors. Heretofore
'perchance, thou mightest
'have sought the *Empire*,
'to satisfie thy *ambition*.
'The Empire must now
'be thy refuge and *Asy-*
'*lum*. Credit me, the *Lords*
'of the *Senate*, after so
'many yeares obedience,
'know not how to go-
'verne: neither canst thou,
'having so long beene a

*Gover-*

'*Governor*, learne *Obedi-*
'*ence*. Truth is, in matters
'of domeſticall buſineſſe,
'a man may ſtop and deſiſt
'where he will. But in the
'getting of an *Empire*, there
'is no meane betweene the
'death of an *Enemy*, and
'the life of a *Prince*. Thou
'haſt already gone too
'farre to retire. Now thou
'muſt reſolve to be CÆ-
'SAR or nothing. To ſay
'more were ſuperfluous.
'Thine owne diſcretion
'will ſuggeſt unto thee,
'better Arguments. One-
'ly this, I know that thou
'haſt in thee too much *Iu-*
'*lius*, not to governe.

## XXX.

AVGVSTVS, ſeemed to incline to this latter opinion; whether moved with MECENAS Oration, eſpecially his inſtance in POMPEY; or that he was before reſolved to follow that courſe, is uncertaine. Howſoever, ſeeming with great attention to obſerve their ſpeeches, and gathering their ſeverall reaſons and motives together, he made this Reply. A moſt "hard thing it is, for a divided

"vided minde, to make a
"well-joyn'd anſwer. Di-
"vided I am, and troubled
"between your two opi-
"nions; loath to follow
"eyther, ſithence in ſo
"doing I muſt offend one.
"Yet ſithence there is a
"neceſſity of Reſolution;
"I intend, though I like
"well of thine advice, A-
"GRIPPA; to follow
"thine MECENAS. In
"doing which, I am but
"an inſtrument of the
"*Deſtinies*, to put their
"will in execution. Often
"have I heard my Father
"OCTAVIVS report, how
"*Nigidius*, famous for his

" skill in *Iudiciary Astro-*
" *logie*, told him once in o-
" pen *Senate*, That he had
" gotten an Emperor for
" the *Romans*. As also, how
" *M. Cicero*, so renowned
" for wit and eloquence,
" dreamed that he saw *Iu-*
" piter place me on the top
" of the *Capitoll*, with a
" Whip in mine hand.
" Certainly, if the powers
" of Heaven promise me
" so great an *Empire*; I
" will not bee wanting to
" my selfe: but will adde
" by my *wisdome*, to their
" *influence*. To further my
" designes, I doe desire
" you; nay I conjure you
both:

" both: that as you have " been ever ready in your " Counſels; ſo you would " not now be backward, " in any neceſſary aſſi- ' ſtance. This ſaid, they preſently enter into a new conference, how to manage a buſineſſe of this weight; what *Senators* to acquaint with their intent; how to diſpoſe of the *Army*, not yet caſhiered; with what Plummet were beſt to ſound the minds of the common people.

XXXI.

## XXXI.

THis Conſultation ended, AVGVSTVS continued his affability to the *People*, and reſpect to the *Nobles*. An opportunity he had to expreſſe himſelfe to both. There was at that time a Famine, which ſhrewdly raged among the *Commons*. To the poorer ſort, hee diſtributed Corne, *Gratis*; to others, at a meane price. Riches and honours he communicated to both ſorts; the bet-

better to wipe out of their memories, the ancient *freedome*. Such parts of the *Citty*, as were deſtroyed by caſualty of fire, ruined by length of time, or defaced during the *Civill-warres*; he re-edified. Houſes of *Common-aſſemblies* he repaired; Temples conſecrated to the Gods, hee ſpared no coſt, to adorne and beautifie. And finally ſo freely diffuſed his bounty, that there was no part or member of the Citty, which had not ſome taſte of it. Next, he diſmiſſed his ſoldiers, aſſigning them Lands and habi-

habitations in divers parts of *Italy*. That ſo the *Lords* of the *State*, might conceive his *Reſignation* to be reall; and yet if need were, his forces might bee quickly reaſſembled. Nor were AGRIPPA and MECENAS wanting for their parts, to promote the cauſe: but carefully acquainted ſome of the *Senate* with it, who ſtood well affected to them; and cunningly prepared others.

XXXII.

## XXXII.

THe foundation thus layd, and the *Senate* ſate, AVGVSTVS roſe frō his ſeat, and ſpake to this or the like effect. When "I conſider with my "ſelfe, the infinite extent "of the *Roman* Empire; "I proteſt I ſtand at a "maze: Marvailing how "ſuch, as heretofore "have rayſed combuſti-"ons in State, durſt un-"dertake the ſole admini-"ſtratiō of it. What Natiō

in

"of one man. There never
"was, since the beginning
" of time, a City repleni-
" shed with greater store
" of worthy and able
'men; eyther to consult
'or execute. Never was
'there seene so grave and
'discreet a *Consistory*. Ne-
'ver so many of both
'sorts, so fit to governe.
'I have by your Directi-
'ons, and the valor of
'your soldiers, put an end
'to al homebred quarrels.
I have beene your instru-
'ment, to reduce peace in-
'ternall and externall, to
'your City: and desire
'now no other Guerdon

or

'or recompence for any 'former ſervices, than a 'quiet and a private life; 'free from all ſuch dan- 'gers and inconveniences, 'as are inſeparably annex- 'ed to the *Principalitie*. 'Now therefore, and may 'my action bee auſpitious 'and fortunate to my 'Country, doe I reſigne 'my authority: commit- 'ting my ſelfe, and the '*Commonwealth*, into the 'hands of the *Senate* and '*people* of *Rome*.

XXXIII.

"of one man. There never
"was, ſince the beginning
"of time, a City repleni-
"ſhed with greater ſtore
"of worthy and able
'men; eyther to conſult
'or execute. Never was
'there ſeene ſo grave and
'diſcreet a *Conſiſtory*. Ne-
'ver ſo many of both
'ſorts, ſo fit to governe.
'I have by your Directi-
'ons, and the valor of
'your ſoldiers, put an end
'to al homebred quarrels.
I have beene your inſtru-
'ment, to reduce peace in-
'ternall and externall, to
'your City: and deſire
'now no other Guerdon

or

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'your soldiers, put an end
'to al homebred quarrels.
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'ment, to reduce peace in-
'ternall and externall, to
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'now no other Guerdon
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'or recompence for any 'former ſervices, than a 'quiet and a private life; 'free from all ſuch dan- 'gers and inconveniences, 'as are inſeparably annex- 'ed to the *Principalitie*. 'Now therefore, and may 'my action bee auſpitious 'and fortunate to my 'Country, doe I reſigne 'my authority: commit- 'ting my ſelfe, and the '*Commonwealth*, into the 'hands of the *Senate* and '*people* of *Rome*.

XXXIII.

"of one man. There never
"was, since the beginning
"of time, a City replenished with greater store
"of worthy and able
'men; eyther to consult
'or execute. Never was
'there seene so grave and
'discreet a *Consistory*. Never so many of both
'sorts, so fit to governe.
'I have by your Directions, and the valor of
'your soldiers, put an end
'to al homebred quarrels.
I have beene your instrument, to reduce peace internall and externall, to
'your City: and desire
'now no other Guerdon

or

'or recompence for any 'former ſervices, than a 'quiet and a private life; 'free from all ſuch dan- 'gers and inconveniences, 'as are inſeparably annex- 'ed to the *Principalitie*. 'Now therefore, and may 'my action bee auſpitious 'and fortunate to my 'Country, doe I reſigne 'my authority: commit- 'ting my ſelfe, and the '*Commonwealth*, into the 'hands of the *Senate* and '*people* of *Rome*.

XXXIII.

## XXXIII.

THis Oration ended, there followed a ſoft and ſilent buzzing in the houſe. Some ſuppoſed this ſpeech, not to have ſo much truth, as art and cunning, yet ſmothered their conceits, for feare of after-claps. Others were Creatures of his owne making, and they hoping to *riſe* in the *fall* of theyr Country, would not heare of a Reſignation. Some few of the wiſer ſort

ſort, thought it not expedient, to put the Reines againe into the hands of the *Multitude*. The reſt out of a ſluggiſh and phlegmatique Conſtitution, choſe rather the preſent eſtate with ſecurity; than to ſtrive to recover the old, with danger. All therfore with a joynt conſent proclaime him ſole *Emperor*: and ſolemnely intreat him to ſave the *Commonwealth*, otherwiſe running to inevitable ruine. He for a while, as vainely denyed to accept the Government, as they vainely perſiſted to deſire him. At laſt,

laſt, wearied with the clamours of all in generall; and importance of ſome in particular; he by little and little yeelded to their requeſts, taking upon him the *Empire* for ten yeares, with this Proviſo, that if before that time expired, hee could fully ſettle & order the preſent State, hee would give up his charge. (*An. V. C.* 725.) This hee gave out, not with a purpoſe of performance. (For at the end of every *Decennium* hee renewed his leaſe of the Regiment:) But that the people ſeeing a nigh poſſibili-

ſibility of regaining their *Liberties*, might not practice againſt him. Whereas, had hee for tearme of life, received the ſupreame authoritie; hee had no doubt haſtened his owne overthrow.

## XXXIV.

NOt the title of *Dictator*, but the Epithite, *Perpetuall*; was the deſtruction of CÆSAR; Yet alſo great reſpect was to be had in the choyce of the title. The name of *King* he

he refuſed, as beeing odious to the *Citizens*. Neyther would he be called *Romulus*, though he much deſired it; leſt they ſhould ſuppoſe that he did affect the *Tyranny*. When the people called him *Dictator*, he rent his Garments, deſiring them to diſcharge him of a name ſo hated: and being once called Lord, (*Dominus*) hee forbad alſo that title by publique Edict. *Princeps Senatus* was the onely title he admitted. Well knowing, that the like glorious attributes were heaped on his Father IVLIVS, by them

them which leaſt loved him; onely to this end, that growing more and more into hatred, hee might the ſooner bee diſpatched. Nor was he ignorant, that the *Common-people* led more by appearances, than truth; diſcernd names more plainly than executions: and that the onely courſe to make greatneſſe ſtand firmely, was to receive extraordinary Iuriſdiction, under a Title not offenſive. The name alſo of AVGVSTVS, put upon him by the *Senate*, as if there had beene ſomething in

him more than mortall, he denyed not: as a title expreſſing more dignity and reverence, than authority.

## XXXV.

VVhen firſt at the hands of the *Lords* of the *Senate*, he had for 10. yeares received the Government; there was appointed unto him two *Cohorts* of *Prætorian Soldiers*, for the guard of his perſon; to whō the *Senate* allowed the double wages of

of a *Legionary* souldier, to make them the more vigilant and heedfull in their charge. Over these; he appointed two Prefects or Governors. (Captaines of the Guard wee may best tearme them.) To commit the charge to one onely, might breed danger; to more, confusiõ. *Agrippina*, to settle *Nero* in the *Empire*, prevailed with *Claudius*, to make *Burrus*, whom she had at her devotiõs, the sole Captain: and *Nymphidius*, false from his hopes of setting *Galba* besides the quishiõ; desired the cõmãd of the *Gard* as the next step

to the Soveraignty. In choice of theſe Captaines, he obſerved two Rules. Firſt, he ever choſe them, *Ex ordine Equeſtri*, not *Senatorio*; leſt that ſo high a dignity, joyned to ſo high a Birth, might ſtartle their reſolutions to ſome deſignes againſt his quiet. Secondly, he made choice of two ſuch, which were of contrary humors, and ſomewhat at oddes: That ſo the ill intents of one (if they ſhould harbour any) might be thwarted and revealed by the other; and both in a noble emulation ſhould contend

tend, to be moſt forward in his ſervice. The next courſe wch he took for his owne ſecurity, was a law he made to curbe the very wills and attempts of the *great ones*. For whereas it had beene formerly unlawfull, to queſtion a *Bondman*, in matters concerning the life and death of his *Lord*: AVGVSTVS paſſed an Act, that all ſuch *Bondmen* ſhould bee firſt ſold to him, or the *Common-wealth*. By meanes whereof he kept the *Lords*, before preſuming on the ſecrecie of their *Slaves*; from all cloſe and private

Conſpiracies againſt him.

## XXXVI.

HAving thus ſtrengthened his perſon, he aſſumed to himſelfe the *Imperiall*, *Cenſoriall*, and *Tribunitian* authority together with the *Sacerdotall* dignity. As *Emperor* and *Generall* of the men of Warre, hee could preſſe Soldiers, raiſe Taxes, proclaime wars, make peace; yea and put to death the very beſt and ſtouteſt of the *Senators*: as *Cenſor*, it

was

was in his power, to reforme corrupt manners, inquire after mens carriage, to take in and put out of the *Senate*, whom he listed; to place and displace the people from an honorable tribe to a lesse honorable. Yet would he not be called *Censor*, as a name too inferiour: but accepted the *Prerogative*. After the surrendry of MANVTIVS and his associate; two men so unfit for that *Magistracie*, that they could object no crime to old or young, of which themselves were not gilty. The

*Tribunitian authority*, enabled hinder any thing attempted againſt his liking: It preſerved his perſon from all contumely and injury; Giving him leave to puniſh as an execrable perſon, yea and without any formality of law; whoſoever had offended him eyther in word or deed. As for the *Pontificiall Dignity*, it made him a little more reverenced, not more potent. Onely it added to his title, the ſtile of *Pontifex Maximus*; or *Chiefe Biſhop*; and made him of authority amongſt the Prieſts, and in ſacred mat-

matters, things that concerned *Religion*. The light of Reaſon taught him, that it was convenient for him, beeing a *Prince*, to have command on all his people. He had beene elſe but halfe a *Monarch*. Such as ſome Princes are with us, who quit their *Clergy* to be governed by a *forreigne head*. Theſe ſeverall Prerogatives annexed together, ſeemed not yet ſufficient: and therefore he ſo cũningly dealt with the *Senators* that they gave him a generall Exemption from the *Coactive power* of the law. Which once

effected, he ſeriouſly and totally bendeth his Studies to ſettle the *Commonwealth.*

## XXXVII.

TO what *Republique* hee ſhould conforme the *Roman*, was his next care. The forme deſcribed by *Plato*, rather ſheweth how a Citty ought to be, than how it may bee governed. *Ariſtotle* bred in the *free State* of *Greece*, was no friend to *Monarchies*: and therefore no fit In-

Inſtructer. *Solon* afforded the *people*, too much authority, the *Nobles*, too little; the *King*, none. The old *Carthaginian Legiſlator* attributed too much to *Riches*; too little to *vertue*. The *Perſian* Law-makers allotted to the *King* too much, and nothing to the *Subiects*, *Zaleuchus* was rather an Author of ſome particular Lawes, than the framer of a *Republique*: *Phalæus* and *Hippodamus* was as unimitable as *Plato*. *Lacedæmon* onely, and her *Lycurgus*, were found fitteſt for his purpoſe. For

*Lycur-*

LYCVRGVS a man of a deepe reach; and brought up under the moſt able *Politicians* of all *Crete*, well underſtanding that the unmixt forme of Rule was mutable, and by conſequence pernicious: framed his *Spartan Commonwealth*, out of the perfections of the three good formes: their imperfections rejected. Reſerving to the *King*, abſolute Majeſty; to the *Nobles*, convenient authority; to the *People* entire *Liberty*; all in a juſt and equall proportion. AVGVSTVS as hee neglected the peculiar Cu-

Cuſtomes of that State, Community of Women, Equality of Poſſeſſions, and the like; So in the maine *Platforme*, hee was a diligent follower of his Conſtitutions. So mixing the *Soveraignty* of one, with the *Liberty* of all; that both the Lords and people without feare of bondage or ſedition, enjoyed their hereditary freedome. The *Conſuls* and *Nobles* of the Citty aſſembled, as formerly they uſed; Matters of *State*, they handled by themſelves: *Ambaſſadors* of forreine Nations, they heard and dif-

diſpatched. The *Commons* aſſembled in the *Comitia*, to enact Lawes, and elect Magiſtrates; as in the *free Common-wealth*. Yet ſo that nothing was done without the conſent and privity of the *Prince*; who for the moſt part, nominated the ſucceſſive Magiſtrate: leaving the confirmation of him to that *people*. So that the change, as hee contrived it, was not violent and at once, but by degrees, and by the ſilent approbation of both the Eſtates: as ſeeming to con-

conſiſt more in the alteration of the *Magiſtrate*, than of the *Lawes*.

## XXXVIII.

BVt to proceed particularly: the firſt care he tooke, was to confirme *Religion* in the ſame ſtate he found it. I meane *Religion* as the *Romans* uſed the word, for thoſe particular though idolatrous formes of *Worſhip*; which to their ſeverall GODS had beene uſed among them. This, though hee might have changed

diſpatched. The *Commons* aſſembled in the *Comitia*, to enact Lawes, and elect Magiſtrates; as in the *free Common-wealth*. Yet ſo that nothing was done without the conſent and privity of the *Prince*; who for the moſt part, nominated the ſucceſſive Magiſtrate: leaving the confirmation of him to that *people*. So that the change, as hee contrived it, was not violent and at once, but by degrees, and by the ſilent approbation of both the Eſtates: as ſeeming to con-

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changed, as the *Pontifex Maximus*, or chiefe Bishop of the *Citty*; yet very wisely he forbare it; It is not safe for Princes that are setled in a long descent of *Government*, to be too active in such changes; But it is dangerous to attempt it in a *Greene State*, and in an *Empire* not well quieted, & inured to bondage: Men are more sensible of the smallest mutations in the Church, than greater changes in the State, and rayse more frequent troubles about it. The *Romans* specially were exceeding tender in this point. The

ancient

ancient *Aediles* formerly received it into their charge, that they permitted no externall, eyther *Gods* or *Ceremonies*, to bee introduced into the City. And by ÆMILIVS it was enacted for a Law, *That none ſhould offer ſacrifice in any publike place, after a new and forraine faſhion.* Excellent therefore was the counſell that MECENAS gave him, when hee firſt undertooke the *Empire.* That hee ſhould "follow conſtantly the '*Religion*, which he found "eſtabliſhed, and compell "others alſo to doe the like:

"like: For forreigne and
"ſtrange rites (ſayth he)
"will offend the people,
"worke many inconve-
"nient alterations in the
"State, yea and moſt like-
"ly will occaſion many
"both ſeditions and con-
"ſpiracies: Words which
"he ſpake not to the ayre,
"but to a Prince exceed-
ding apprehenſive of the
beſt advice; Nor did AV-
GVSTVS ever ſhew him-
ſelfe more carefull in any
one *Area* of the Empire;
than in this. That which
MECENAS noted, we find
true in theſe later Ages, in
times more skilfull of o-
bedience,

bedience, than the moſt quiet houre of AVGVSTVS Gouernment. No one thing more hath cauſed ſo frequent, and ſo generall *Rebellions* in the States of *Chriſtendome*, than alterations of this Nature; I cannot therefore but commend it, as a pious *Reſolution*, in a *late mighty Monarch*. Better ſome few corruptions ſhould be ſuffered in a Church, than that a change.

XXXIX.

## XXXIX.

RElegion thus eſtabliſhed; In the next place the wellfare of the whole *Empire*, conſiſted chiefly in reforming of the *Citty*; From which as from the heart, life was convayed to all the Provinces: And in the *Citty* the corruption was moſt apparant, in the *Senate*. With them therefore he beginneth, well knowing that crimes in men of eminent place end not in thé-

ſelves:

ſelves: but by degrees become diffuſed among their Clyents and followers. Now in the *Senate* were many and deſertleſſe men, who had been taken into the *Conſiſtorie* during the Civill wars: as they could court the people, and humor ſuch as were moſt potent. Of theſe he expelled none by his own power: but making a ſpeech to them in the *Senate*, of the ancient order and preſent Confuſion of the houſe; he firſt exhorted them to looke backe on their former lives, and to judge of their owne abili-

bilities and merits, for ſo honourable a roome. Then he deſired ſome of them to picke out ſuch among them, as were in diſpoſition *factious*, and in life *faulty*, but loath to conceive ſo ill of their owne actions; Which they did accordingly. Yet as it often happeneth, that *the great Thiefe leadeth all the reſt to the Gallowes*; and as *Commines* obſerveth, that after the Battell of *Monthillery*, Offices were taken from many for flying away, aud conferred on ſuch as ran ten Miles be-

beyond them: So remained many in the *Senate*, neyther lesse vicious, nor lesse violent; ondly more potent to maintaine their doings, than some others whom they had removed. AVGVSTVS therefore joyning to him AGRIPPA, proceedeth to a new review. And certainely, it much concerned him in the setling of his affaires, that none should have a voyce in that famous Councell, but such as were of able judgments, honest repute, and

and well affected to the the Prince. An enterprise which hee esteemed so dangerous, that permitted entrance to no *Senator* till he were searched; himselfe wearing a *Brigandine* under his Gowne; and being enuironned with 10 of the most couragious & best beloved of the whole company. Such as hee found in eyther kind inexcusable, he discharged frō their attendance; electing such into their places, which were eyther ennobled for their wisedome, of noted moderation, and strong in their dependants.

Yet

Yet ſo that greatneſſe of *Revenue*, was eſteemed neither a fit *Patronage* for any if they were offenſive; nor a juſt cauſe to challenge intereſt in the *houſe*. Thoſe of them which were rich rather in the guifts of the minde, than fortune; he relieved with honourable Penſions: and finally he beſtirred himſelfe ſo reſolutely, that all confeſſed that they had need of ſuch a wiſe *Phyſitian*, to cure that dull *Conſumption*, whereinto the *Commonwealth* was falne.

## XL.

IN other things he seldome did proceed against them as of himselfe: But when that any of them had conspired his Ruine, he referred them to the Iudgement of their fellowes. And this hee did partly to reserve unto the Court, the ancient Prerogative; partly, not to be Iudge and party in his owne cause: but principally following the example of his father IVLIVS, who coun-

ter-

terfeiting a wretchleſſe contempt of his adverſaries, uſed when he was leaſtſuſpected, under-hand and by publike Officers to worke their deſtruction. Many alſo of them, whom the *Senate* had condemned, he would freely pardon. Conceiving truly, that the queſtioning of mẽ of high calling, would produce as much terrour; though it argued not ſo much rigor as the puniſhment. Yet if extremity of Law was uſed towards ſome few, it was to ſettle quietneſſe in the whole; and as it were a particular

blood-letting for the generall health. Thoſe who had followed the factions of BRVTVS and ANTHONY, he forgave freely. And not ſo onely, but by manifeſting his words by his deeds, and adding truſt and honours to his pardons: he made his Chayre of State more ſetled, and immoveable. So CÆSAR by erecting the fallen and broken Images of POMPEY, made his owne ſtatues ſtand more firmely.

XLI.

## XLI.

BVt the chiefe Act by which he brideled the *Nobles*, was an Edict by him promulgated, forbidding any of them, his leave not granted, to travell out of *Italy*. For well he knew that in an Empire unſetled, and Provinces not quieted, the preſence and authority of men of that ranke, might rayſe greater troubles, than could be eaſily ſuppreſſed. Examples he wanted

not; that especially of *Cato*, who after the overthrow of *Pompey*, stirred such a warre against *Cæsar* in *Affricke*: that he never bought Victory at a dearer rate. Yet not altogether to imprison them, he licensed them at their pleasure to visite *Sicilia*, and *Gaul Narbonoyse*: Provinces close to the continent of *Italy*, altogether unfurnished for warres; and indeed such, as by reason of the variety of pleasures in them used, were more likely to weaken their minds, than to arme their bodies.

XLII.

## XLII.

NOw to give the *Senate* ſome ſweet meat, to their ſowre ſawce; he as much honoured and reverenced the *Order*, as ever it was in the *free-ſtate*: ſubmitting himſelfe to their Iudgements; and appearing of his owne accord, at moſt of theyr dayes of Seſſion. Out of thoſe he choſe 15. alterable every halfe yere, to be of his privy Councell, but thē chāging thē for others

that ſo all of them might participate that honour; and yet none of them bee acquainted with too many of his ſecrets. At his entrance into the *Senate*, he uſed courteouſly to ſalute the *Lords*; and ſo likewiſe at his departure. Hee knew full well that it was noted for great pride in his father IVLIVS, ſo much to ſleight the *Lords* of that *Houſe*, as he alwayes did: never making to them any obeyſance, no not then, when they came to tel him what honors were decreed unto him.

XLIII.

## XLIII.

THis Reformation of the *great Ones*, ſoone made the *lower ſort* more carefull; both to obſerve good order, and to learne obedience. Yet did not AVGVSTVS referre all to *Freſident*; but ſomewhat to *Precept*. The *Roman Knights* he enforced to yeeld an account of their lives: an Ordinance full of health: Idleneſſe being the root of all private vices, and publike

diſorders. To the *Commons* in their *Comitia* and other meetings, he preſcribeth Lawes and Orders as himſelfe liſted. The old authority of the *Tribunes*, daſhed in the *Dictatorſhip* of SYLLA, he would not reſtore. He ſuffred them to intercede for the *people*, but not to preferre or hinder any *Bill* to the advancement or the prejudice of the *Third eſtate*. Without this *Curbe*, the *Common ſort* would never quietly have ſuffered him to ſit faſt in the *Saddle*. For had the people

ple had their *Tribunes*, and had the *Tribunes* had their ancient dignity and power, which they had uſurped: there had beene little or no hope, of altering the forme of Government. So different are the ends of the *Common-people*, eſpecially if nuzled in a factious Liberty; from the deſignes of ſoveraigne *Princes*.

XLIV.

## XLIV.

THe City thus reformed in the principall errors and defects of it; he againe exhibiteth unto them divers pleaſures: As Shewes of Fencers, Stage-playes, Combates of wilde beaſts, publique dancings, with variety of other delightfull ſpectacles. And this as well to breed in them a good conceit of the change; as fearing leſt their cogitations, for want of other objects, would

would fixe themſelves upon his actions, and the old *freedome*. Horſe-races, Tilts, and Tornaments, he gladly cheriſhed; but he permitted them only to the Inhabitants of *Rome*: That ſo that City being the Seat-Towne of his Empire, might be ſtored with good *Horſes*, and expert Riders. Such of the *Commons* as were behind hand, he relieved: and when that any of them had made him Heyre to their goods; hee well knowing that no good Father did appoint to his Heyre any *Prince*, but a

*Ty-*

*Tyrant*, presently restored to the Children of the deceased, the whole Patrimony. An action truly worthy of AVGVSTVS; as true a *Guardian* of *Orphanes*, as a Father of his *Country*. Such Princes as gape covetously after other mens possessions, seldome enjoy the benefit of their owne. The treasures of Kings are then greatest, not when their own Coffers are full onely, but their subjects rich.

XLV.

## XLV.

YEt one thing more he ſeemed to leave unto the people, which they thought moſt pleaſing; Liberty of ſpeech. Wherein ſometimes they were ſo licencious, that they ſpared not AGRIPPA himſelfe, ſo potent with the Emperour. But hee good man, never uſing the Princes favour to the prejudice of any, ſeemed not to marke their taunts

taunts and ſlanders: whether with greater moderation or wiſedome, I cannot tell. Neyther did AVGVSTVS ſcape their fooliſh *Paſquils* and infamous *Libels*. All which he winked at, knowing, that Cõtumelies of that Nature, ſlighted & cõtẽned, ſoone vaniſh of themſelves: but if repined and ſtormed at, they ſeeme to be acknowledged. A temper which he learnt of his Father IVLIVS, who was perfect at it. And certainely it was a notable poynt of wiſedome in both of them. It is the miſery of the

the beſt *Princes*, even when they doe well, to be ill ſpoken of. And therfore many times ſuch follyes, are with more policy diſſembled than obſerved, by the greateſt *Kings*.

## XLVI.

AS for this Laviſhneſſe of the *tongue*, it is an humour that ſpringeth for the moſt part, rather from a delight in pratling, than any malice of the heart: and they which uſe

uſe it are more troubleſome than dangerous. IVLIVS feared not the *fat men*, but the *leane* and *ſpare*. And ſo AVGVSTVS thought, that not men liberall of ſpeech, but ſilent, cloſe, and ſparing of their words, were moſt likely to rayſe tumults. Moreover, as long as the *Common-people* retcined *Liberty of ſpeech*, they were the leſſe ſencible of the loſſe of *Liberty in State*. Whereas in the dayes of DOMITIAN, when not onely they were prohibited to commune together, but

even

even their ſecret ſighes and teares were *Regiſtred*; then began they to looke with a ſerious eye, backe on the old and *Common Liberty: Neglect* is the beſt remedy for this *Talking veine*. When the humour is ſpent, the *People* will ceaſe on their owne accords: till then, no forces can compell them *Tacitus* taxeth *Vitellius* of great folly, for hoping by force to hinder the continuall reports of *Veſpatians* revolt; that being the only way to increaſe, not diminiſh the *rumor*. And as much he extolleth (I will not

not ſay how fitly the Reigne of *Prince* NERVA; wherein it was lawfull for the Subject to thinke what hee would, and ſpeake what he thought.

## XLVII.

THeſe courſes though he tooke to rectifie the Senate, and content the people, yet he ſtayed not here. Therewere too many of both ſorts, dangerous and unquiet ſpirits, who ſtomacked his proceedings: and under the

the pretence of the *ancient Liberty*, were apt to any bold attempt, and ſodaine alteration. Theſe as he winked at for the preſent, ſo he imployed them as occaſion ſerved, in his forreine warres. Wherein he followed the example of his father IVLIVS, who when his ſoldiers had diſpleaſed him, in their *Mutinies* and tumults; would lead them preſently unto ſome deſperate and dangerous ſervice. So weakning both his *foes*, which lay next unto him, and puniſhing thoſe *Soldiers* which had diſo-

diſobeyed him. For though AVGVSTVS had thrice ſhut the Temple of *Ianus*; and cheriſhed peace, no Emperor more, of ſo large a Territory: Yet when he ſaw his times, and that mens minds were active, and their thoughts diſquieted; he could find preſently occaſion for ſome new imployment. In this a *body politique*, may be compared moſt fitly, to the *body Naturall*. when we are full of bloud, and our ſpirits boyling, there is not any *Phyſicke* better than *Phlebotomie*. But if a veyne

veyne be broken in us, and we bleed inwardly; our eſtate commonly is dangerous, and almoſt incureable. So *Princes*, when their people are tumultuous, and apt to miſchiefe; or that their thoughts are working, and hearkening after action; doe commonly imploy them in ſome ſervice farre from home; that there they may both vent their *Anger*, and employ their *Courage*. For let them ſtay at home, to confirme their practiſes, and grow at laſt into faction: the

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the State will ſuffer in it; if it be not ruined. We cannot have a fairer inſtance of this truth than the proceeding of the 5. HENRY, and of the times next following. Whoſe forreine warres kept us all quiet here at home; waſted thoſe humours, and conſumed thoſe fiery ſpirits: which afterwards, the warres being ended, inflamed the Kingdome.

XLVIII.

## XLVIII.

THe Soldiers ſome of them he diſperſed as before I ſayd, all about *Italy*, in 32. Colonies: as well for the defence of the *Country*, as for their more ſpeedy reaſſembly, if need ſhould require. Abroad amongſt the *Provinces*, were maintained upon the common charge, 23. Legions with theyr aydes, beſides 10000. of his Guard, and thoſe which were appointed for

the bridling and the ſafety of the Citty. As to all of them he ſhewed an excellent thankfulneſſe, for their faithfull ſervices: So in particular, to AGRIPPA, and to one other, whoſe name the Hiſtories of that age have not remembred. This latter had valiantly behaved himſelfe at the battell of *Actium*: and being ſummoned to appeare before the *Lords* of the *Senate* in a matter which concerned his life, cryed to AVGVSTVS for ſuccour; who aſſigned him an Advocate. The poore fellow

low not contented with this favour, baring his breaſt, and ſhewing him the markes of many wounds; Theſe (quoth he) have I received, AVGVSTVS, in thy ſervice, never ſupplying my place by a Deputy. Which ſayd, the *Emperor* deſcending to the *Barre*, pleaded the Souldiers cauſe, and wonne it. Never did Soveraigne *Prince*, or any that command in *Cheefe*, loſe any thing, by being bountifull of favors to theyr men of war. For this act quickly ſpreading

ding it ſelfe over all the *Provinces*, did ſo indeere him to the military men; that they all thought their ſervices well recompenced, in that his graciouſneſſe to that one man.

## XLIX.

AND now were they ſo farre given over to him, that the honours conferred on AGRIPPA, could not increaſe their love; well it might their admiration. AGRIPPA was of a meane and

and common *Parentage*, but ſupplying the defects of his *Birth*, with the perfections of his *minde*; he became very potent with AVGVSTVS, who not onely made him *Conſull*, but his companion in the *Tribunitian authority*, and *Provoſt of the Citie*. So many titles were now heaped on him, that MECENAS perſwaded the *Prince*, to give him his Daughter IVLIA to wife; affirming it impoſſible for AGRIPPA to live ſafe, conſidering how open new Creatures lye to the attempts of Malicious men; unleſſe

leſſe he were ingraffed into the royall Stemme of the CÆSARS. On which cauſe queſtionleſſe, for the ſtronger eſtabliſhment of his new honours; SEIANVS afterward attempted, but not with like ſucceſſe, the like match, with LIVIA, TIBERIVS Daughter in Law.

## L.

THe *Senate*, *People*, and *Men of Warre*, thus ſeverally reduced to a Mediocrity of power and content: The next labor is to alter the old, and eſtabliſh a new government of the *Citty* it ſelfe. To effect which, hee daſhed all former Lawes, by which the Allyes and Confederates of the *State*, were made free *Denizens* of the Towne. That hee conceived to be a way, to

draw the whole *Empire* into one *City*; and by the monſtrous groweth and increaſe of this, to make poore the reſt. Therefore this *Priviledge* he communicated unto a few onely: partly that in the times of dearth, the Citty might not ſo much feele the want of ſuſtenance; and partly that ſo ancient an honour might not be diſeſteemed; but principally leſt *Rome* repleniſhed with ſo huge a multitude of ſtirring and unruly ſpirits, ſhould grow too headſtrong to be governed in due order.

The

The greatest and most populous Cities, as they are pronest unto *faction* and *sedition*; so is the danger greatest, both in it selfe, and the example, if they should revolt.

## LI.

THis provident course notwithstāding, there were in *Rome* men more than enough; and among them not a few malecontents, and murmurers at the present state; such as contemned the *Consul-*

and hated the *Princes*. To keepe these in compasse, AVGVSTVS, it being impossible for him to be still resident at *Rome*, and dangerous to bee absent; constituted a *Provost of the Cities*, for the most part chosen out of the *Senators*: assigning him a strength of 6000. men, called *Milites Vrbani*, or the City Souldiers. To him he gave absolute and Royall authority, both in the *Towne* and Territory neare adjoyning, during his owne absence. To him were appeales brought frō the *Magistrates*: and finally to

his *Tribunall* were referred, all cauſes of importance, not in *Rome* onely; but the greateſt part of *Italy*. *Meſalla* was the firſt *Provoſt*, but proofe being had of his inſufficiency, the charge was committed to AGRIPPA: who did not onely ſettle and confirme the *City*; but ſpeedily freed *Italy* from *Theeves*, and *Robbers*, and ſtopped the courſes of many other troubles of the State.

LII.

## LII.

IT is recorded that in the Civill warres of MARIVS and SYLLA, one PONTIVS VELESINVS of the MARIAN *Faction*, told his *Generall*, that he did well to scoure the Country; but *Italy* would never want Wolves, as long as *Rome* was so fit a *Forrest*, and so neare to retyre unto. The like might have beene spoken to AGRIPPA; That he did well, to cleare the *Com-*

*mon*

*mon Rodes* and paſſages: but *Italy* would never want *Theeves*, whilſt *Rome* was ſo good a place of *Refuge*. For though he did, as farre as humane induſtry could extend, endeavour a generall Reformation, both within the *City* and without: yet neyther could he remedy nor foreſee all miſchiefes. Still were there many and thoſe great diſorders, cõmitted in the night ſeaſon; when as no eye, but that to which no darkeneſſe is an obſtacle, could diſcerne the Malefactors. For in the firſt *Proſcriptiõ*, many

many men uſed to walke the Streets well weaponed; pretending onely their owne ſafety. Indeed it was to make their beſt advantage of ſuch men, as they met eyther in unfrequented Lanes and paſſages; or travelling, as their occaſions did direct them in the Night.

## LIII.

TO repreſſe therefore the foule inſolencies of theſe *Sword-men*, AVGVSTVS did ordaine a *Watch* conſiſting of 7000. *Freemen*: their *Captaine* beeing a *Gentleman* of ROME. In the day time, the Guard of the Towne was committed to the *Provoſt* and his *Citie Sol-*

*Soldiers*: Theſe *Vigiles* reſting in their ſtanding Campes. In the Night ſeaſon, one part tooke their *Stations* in the moſt ſuſpitious places of the *City*: another, in perpetuall motion traverſed the Streets, the reſt lying in the *Corps du Guarde*, to relieve their companions. By which meanes, he not onely remedied the preſent diſorders, but preſerved the *City* from danger of fire alſo; Yea and ſecured himſelfe from all night tumults, which carry with them (though but ſmall) more terror and affright-

affrightment; than greater Commotions in the day. Never till now were the *Commnn people* Maſters of their owne, both lives and ſubſtance. And now was travell in the night, as ſafe; though not ſo pleaſant as at Noone.

## LIV.

THe *People* and *Gittie* thus ſetled, his next ſtudy is to keepe the *Provinces* in a liking of the Change. But little *Rhetorique* needed to win their li-

liking, who had long deſired the preſent forme of *Government:* miſtruſting the peoples Regiment, by reaſon of *Noblemens* factions, Covetouſneſſe of *Magiſtrates*; the *Lawes* affording no ſecurity, being ſwayed hither and thither by ambition and corruption. Theſe *Provinces*, when he firſt rid the *Government*, he thus divided. *Aſia*, *Africa*, *Numidia*, *Betica*, *Narbonenſis*, *Sicilia*, *Corſica*, *Sardinia*, all *Greece*, *Crete*, *Cyprus*, *Pontus*, and *Bythinia*, being quiet and peaceable *Provinces*, of knowne and

and faithfull obedience; he aſſigned unto the *Senate*. But the new conquered Regions, ſuch as had not diſgeſted their loſſe of liberty, with whō any rebellion or warre, was to be feared, he retayned under his owne command. Such were *Tarraconenſis*, *Luſitanica*, *Lugdunenſis*, *Germany*, *Belgica*, *Aquitanica*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, *Ægypt*, *Dalmatia*, *Myſia*, *Pannonia*, *&c.* This hee did as hee gave out, to ſuſtaine the danger himſelfe alone, leaving to the *Senate*, the ſweete at theyr eaſe: but

but the truth was, to keep them without armes, himſelfe alwayes ſtrong and in a readineſſe. Queſtionleſſe the *Caſarean Provinces*, growing ſo ſtrong; and perceiving the *Conſular* ſo weake: aſſumed to themſelves rhe creating, and eſtabliſhing the future *Princes*. *Galba* was made Emperour by the *Spaniſh* and *French* Legions; *Vitellius*, by the *German*; *Veſpatian* by the *Syrian* and *Pannonian*: The *Conſular Provinces* never ſtirring, eyther to prevent their attempts, or to revenge them.

LV.

## L V.

THeſe *Provinces*, the better to manage the affaires of the *Empire*, he had peculiarly ſpecified in his *Regiſter*, what *Tributes* they payed, what *Preſents* they ſent in, what *Cuſtomes* in them were levyed. That booke alſo cõprehended, the wealth of the publike *Treaſury*, and neceſſary charge iſſuing out of it: What number of *Citizens* and *Allies*, there were in *Armes*; What

What ſtrength there was by *Sea*, with all other circumſtances concerning the extent, ſtrength, riches; and particulars of his *Eſtate*. *William* of *Normandy* did the like, at his firſt entrance into *England*: when he compoſed that *Cenſuall Roll* of all this Kingdome; which we call *Doomes-day Booke*, or the *Roll of Winton*: according unto which *Taxations* were impoſed and *Aydes* exacted. The greateſt *Princes* have not thought it a diſparagemen to be good Husbands; to know the riches

ches of their Crownes; and have an eye to theyr *Intrado.*

## LVI.

*Britaine* was left out of this *Bead-roll*, eyther becauſe from hence there neyther was much hope of profit, nor much feare of hurt: or elſe becauſe, being more deſirous to keepe than inlarge the Monarchy; he thought it moſt expedienr to confine it within the boũds appointed by Nature. *Dannbius*, on

on the North; Mount *Atlas* on the South; *Euphrates*, on the Eaſt; & the maine *Ocean* on the Weſt: did bound his *Empire* and defend it. Some *Kingdomes* have their limits layd out by Nature: and thoſe which have adventured to extend them further, have found it fatall. The *Perſians* never did attempt to ſtretch their *Territory* beyond *Oxus*, but they miſcarried in the action. And what was that poore *River*, if compared unto the *Ocean*?

LVII.

## LVII.

MAny who loved *action*, or expected preferment by the *Wars*, incited him unto the conqueſt and plantation of theſe Countries. Affirming that the barbarous 'people were naturally 'bad neighbors; & though 'for the preſent not very 'ſtrong nor well skilled 'in Armes; yet might a 'weake Enemy in time 'gather great ſtrength: 'That he ought to purſue

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'the warre, for his Father
'*Iulius* ſake, who firſt
'ſhewed that Iland to the
'*Romans*: that it yeelded
'both refuge and ſupply
'to the Malecontents of
'*France*, and enemies in
'*Germany*: That he would
'loſe the benefit of a weal-
'thy *Country*, ſtored with
'all manner of proviſion;
'and the command of a
'valiant Nation, borne as
'it were unto the warres.
'That it was an Apoſtacy
'from honor, to lye ſtill
'and adde nothing to the
'conqueſt of his ance-
ſtors: that he was in all e-
'quity bound as farre as

in

'in him was, to reduce to
'*Civility*, from *Barbraiſme*
'ſo many proper and a-
'ble men.

## LVIII.

TO theſe motives *Auguſtus* replyed, That 'he had already refuſed to 'wage warre with the *Par-* 'thian; a more dangerous 'neighbour, and far worſe 'enimy than the *Britaines*: 'That he had waſt and de-'ſart ground enough, in his 'own *dominions* for many 'a large *Plantation*; when

'he ſaw it needfull; that 'he had conſtantly refu-'ſed, though with great fa-'cility he might, to con-'quer any more of the '*barbarous Nations*: That 'as in the *Naturall body*, a 'ſurfeit is more dange-'rous thã faſting; So in the '*body Politique* too much is more troubleſome than a litle. That the *Roman Monarchy*, had already exceeded the *Perſian* & *Macedoniã*: & to extẽd it further, was the next way to make it totter and fall by its owne weight: that he had 'learned in the *Fable*, not 'to loſe the *ſubſtance*, by

cat-

'catching the *ſhadow*:
'That many puiſſant Na-
'tions lay in, and about
'*Britany*, againſt whom
'*Garriſons* muſt be kept;
'and he feared the *Revenue*
would not quit the *Coſt*.

## LIX.

FOr the aſſurance of the *Provinces* already conquered, he diſperſed into them 23. *Legions* with their *Aydes*: whoſe pay onely, beſides proviſion of Corne and Officers wages; amounted to five

Millions and an halfe of our *Engliſh* pounds, and ſomewhat more, were ſo ſodainly payd unto the *Armies*, that we read ſeldom in the Hiſtories of that *Empire*, of any *Mutinie* amongſt the *Soldiers* for want of pay. An happineſſe whereof theſe ages have beene little guilty. For the amaſſing of his treaſure, and defraying of this charge; AVGVSTVS made not uſe onely of his owne revenue. *Warres* which are undertaken, and *Soldiers* that are levied for the *Common ſafety*; ought in all reaſon to be maintained on the *Common-*

*purſe*. Grandour and ſecurity of an *Empire*, concernes in all reſpects, aſmuch the people as the *Prince*. For which cauſe, he erected an *Exchequer* in the *Citsy*, which was called *Ærarium militare*, or the *Soldiers Treaſurie*, whereto the xx. part of every mans eſtate, was brought; according to the true and perfect valuation. This was eſteemed an heavy burden at the firſt, and indeed it was: but that the people felt the ſweetnes & effects of it, in the common ſafety. In that reſpect, the intereſt was

greater than the *principall. Subiects* that have a care either of the common peace or honour; will not repine at payments and taxations, though more thã ordinary. It is a poore conceit to thinke that *Princes* eyther are able or obliged, to maintaine the warres without assistance from their people: or that the treasures, which in these respects they give the *King*; they doe not give unto themselves. I may perhaps repute him for a cunning *Sophister*, but never for a faithfull Subject; which coynes di-

diſtinctions betwixt the welfare of the *King*, and the weale of the *Kingdome*.

## LX.

THeſe Legions he employed as occaſion was, eyther to curbe the *Natives*, or ſecure the *Borders*. The *Roman Empire* ſeldome had ſuch perfect peace but that there were imployments alwaies for the *ſoldiers*. If that they had in any place a ſhort Ceſſation from the wars

yet they were not *idle*. *Idleneſſe* doubtleſſe is the greateſt enimy to *Martiall Diſcipline*. Therefore he kept them at ſuch times perpetually buſied: eyther in paving *Bogges*, or in dreaning *Mariſhes*. By meanes whereof, he made not onely many of the *barbarous Countries*, both fruitfull in themſelves, and profitable to the *Chequer*: but thereby alſo he ſecured his owne affaires, and diſarmed his enemies. For many times the *Barbarous people* truſting to ſuch advantages; were apt too often to rebell: and

and having got themſelves within thoſe *Myres* and *Faſtneſſes*, ſtood on theyr *Guard*; as in ſome faſhionable or defenſible *Fortreſſe*. The ſureſt meanes to keepe a conquered people, from all occaſion of revolting, is to lay waſte their *Wood-lands*, and make all parts *paſſable*. The opportunity of a ſafe retreat, makes not more *Theeves*, than *Rebels*.

LXI.

## LXI.

THose whom he placed over his *Provinces* and *Armies*: hee neyther would remove under 3. yeares government; nor yet continue after five. A longer ſtay might teach them too much of the nature of the people; and perhaps prompt them, to worke into the favour of the Natives, and the men of warre; and ſo at laſt to eſtabliſh in themſelves a *Soveraignty*. *Caſars* long ſtay

ſtay in *Gaul*, (a ſecond 5. yeares being added unto that, which was firſt allowed him;) made him ſo potent with the *people*, and gracious with the *Soldiers*; that in the end hee brought the *Romã Empire* under his ſubjection. And on the other ſide, to take them from their charges, under 3. yeares continuance, were to have called them home, before they were well learned in the *Cuſtomes* and the nature of the *Provinces*: ſo making them unable, to inſtruct their *Succeſſors*. As for the men whom he imploy-

imployed in thoſe *Commands*; he called them alwayes out of the moſt valiant and upright, in *Campe*, and *Senate*. A *Prince* more willing and deſirous not to imploy men likely to offend; than after the offence to puniſh and chaſtiſe them.

## LXII.

BEſides his forces by Land, he alſo maintained at Sea two *invincible Armadoes*. The one lay at Anchor neare *Ravenna*, in the up *Sea*, to awe and defend

defend *Dalmatia*, *Cretc*, *Greece*, *Cyprus*, *Aſia*, *&c.* The other at *Miſenum*, in the lower *Sea*, to protect and keepe under *France*, *Spaine*, *Africa*, *Ægypt*, *Syria*, *&c.* Neyther was this the onely uſe of two ſuch puiſſant *Fleets*. But in all probability, they were to cleanſe the Sea of *Pyrates*; to have a care to the conducting of the *Tributes* & *Cuſtomes* into the *Exchequer*: and ſerved alſo for tranſporting *Corne*, and other neceſſary proviſions, for the ſuſtenance, and reliefe of the *Citty*. In the enſuing

*Ci-*

*Civill warres*, theſe two Navies proved to bee of great importance: The revolt of them giving as great a blow to the one ſide, as a comfort to the other. The principall aſſurance of *Otho* in the wars, was the immoveable fidelity of the *Miſenian* Fleet: and the ſiding of th'other with *Veſpatian*, brake the hearts of *Vitellius* beſt followers.

LXIII.

## LXIII.

AVGVSTVS as hee ſtrengthened the *Provinces* in generall, ſo did he caſt an eſpeciall eye on 3. particulars : viz. *Italy*, *France*, and *Ægypt*. *Italy* rounded *Rome* the *Metropolis* of the *Empire*; and therefore he ought to be well aſſured, of its good faith and allegiance to him. Nor was he ignorant, that the *Bellum Sociale* raiſed by the people of that *Country* in the *free-State*,

*State*, more ſhooke and endangered the *Empire*; than the Invaſions of *Pyrrhus*, or *Annibal*. Therefore as formerly he planted in it 32. *Colonies*, of old and truſty ſoldiers, to keepe it ſure unto himſelfe: So now he did divide it into eleven Regions; each having peculiar *Magiſtrates*, and under *Officers*. This not ſo much to eaſe the *Citty Prætor*, although hee had imployment enough at *Rome*: but becauſe it was thicke ſet and as it were overlayd with *People*, whoſe riſing might endanger the *Common-*

*wealth.*

*wealth*. So by his *Colonies* he kept a Garriſon upon them as it were, that they could not *revolt*: and by his *Officers* and *Iuſticiers* (as I may call them) he ſet ſo ſtrait a Watch about them; that they durſt not *practiſe*.

## LXIV.

FRaunce, then called *Gaul*, was both a large and fertile Country: ſtored with a people, valiant in all attempts, and in many

many deſperate. A people with which the old *Romans* fought rather to maintaine their owne liberty, than to increaſe their Dominions. A people whoſe *Progenitors* had ſacked the *Citie*; and finally with whom the *Romans* durſt not make warre, till they had almoſt all the reſidue of the world in ſubjection. Remembrance of their ancient Reputation, and ſtore of money might occaſion many deſperate practiſes againſt the quiet of the *Empire*. The readi-

eſt

eſt way to keepe them in *Obedience*, was to keepe them poore, for without wealth, high *Stomacks* may well *feed* on the hope of *Liberty*, but diſgeſt it neuer. *Licinius* his *freed-man*, was the fitteſt fellow for ſuch au Office: who is preſently made the *Taske-maſter* of the *Prouince*. The *French* uſed to pay a Monthly Tribute, which he much inhaunced (beſides private and petty meanes of prevailing) by making foureteene Moneths in a yeare. The *French* Solicitors at *Rome* make complaint to

A v-

AVGVSTVS. He ſometimes yeilded unto them, ſometimes excuſed his *Freedman*; ſome things hee would not know, many he would not believe; others he diſſembled. LICINIVS to make up his peace, ſent to the Emperour all his *treaſure*, and that huge Maſſe of gold and ſilver by thoſe unlawfull meanes, heaped up together: which hee not onely willingly received, but his turne being ſerved and the *French* not a little impoveriſhed; he recalled *Licinius*, and ſent *Tiberius* to ſettle the *Province*. So old

old and common a thing it is with great *Princes*, to ſuffer their *Vice-Roys*, and *Vnder-Officers*, to ſucke like *Spunges*, the *Wealth* of the *Subiect*, till they are quite full; and then o *ſqueeze* them into their owne *Coffers*.

## LXV.

BVt the *Province* whoſe tuition and defence he principally regarded, was *Ægypt*: not ſo much for the valour and animoſitie of the *Inhabitants* as the naturall ſtrength & ſcituatiõ of

of the place. *Alexander* of *Macedon* having annexed it to his *Empire*, never committed the entire government and Iurisdiction thereof to one man: fearing leaſt he preſuming on the wealth of the *People*, and ſite of the *Country*, would ſettle the poſſeſſion in himſelfe. And ſo AVGVSTVS calling to minde aſwell the multitude, as the levity and inconſtancie of the Natives; that it was very rich in coyne, and the *Roman Granary*, (as ſerving the Citty foure Moneths yearely with Corne) not onely

onely truſted not the rule thereof into the hands of any of the *Senators*, but expreſly forbad any of that order, without his eſpecial permiſſion, to ſojourne there. It is a principle in *State*, never to licence mē of great houſes, and credit among the *people*, to have free acceſſe into that *Country*, whoſe revolt may endanger the whole *Empire*. Wherefore it was a weakneſſe doubtleſſe, in the Councell of K. *Henry* of that name the 6. to ſuffer *Rich.* D. of *Yorke*, to paſſe at pleaſure into *Ireland*; where he had harbour and

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onely trusted not the rule thereof into the hands of any of the *Senators*, but expresly forbad any of that order, without his especial permission, to sojourne there. It is a principle in *State*, never to licence mē of great houses, and credit among the *people*, to have free accesse into that *Country*, whose revolt may endanger the whole *Empire*. Wherefore it was a weaknesse doubtlesse, in the Councell of K. *Henry* of that name the 6. to suffer *Rich.* D of *Yorke*, to passe at pleasure into *Ireland*; where he had harbour and

K reliefe,

reliefe, and whence hee brought ſupply both of *men* and *money*. But to return to *Ægypt*, *Germanicus* entring once into *Alexandria*, onely to ſee the *Antiquities* of it, and returne; ſtirred ſuch ſuſpicions & diſtractions in the jealous head of *Tiberius*, that hee ſpared not ſharpely to rebuke him for it. *Veſpaſian* alſo being by the *Syrian Legions* choſen Emperor, firſt aſſured himſelfe of *Ægypt*; as the key of the Sea and land, with a ſmall power againſt a ſtrõg hoſt, eaſily defended. This place he reſolved to make his

his *Sanctuary*, if his deſignes ſucceeded not luckily. And to this place hee haſtened, after the defeate of the *Vitellian* army: that ſo detaining the ordinary proviſion of victuals; hee might by famine compell the City of *Rome* to ſtand at his *devotiõ*. The government of this *Province* was by *Auguſtus* alwaies committed to ſome one of the *Romane* Gentry; as leſſe able, by reaſon of his low fortunes, to worke againſt the *Princes* ſafety neyther would he allow his *ſubſtitute* the glorious attributes of *Lievtenant*, *Legatus*

*Vice-Roy*, or *Proprætor*. *Captaine* or *Preſident* of *Egypt*, was their higheſt *Title*: their being even in *Titles* no ſmall motives to *Ambition*.

## LXVI.

*Auguſtus* having by theſe meanes reduced both the *Citty* and *Provinces*, under his abſolute cõmand: and being now declining in ſtrength, by reaſon of a ſodaine & violent ſickneſſe; began to call his wits to Councel, how to diſpoſe of the *Eſtate* after

ter his deceaſe. *Male-child* he never had any. His Daughter *Iulia* a woman of immodeſt carriage, never made further uſe of her Fathers greatneſſe, than that ſhe ſatisfied her luſts with the grtater inſolence. *Marcellus* his Siſters ſonne, and *Iulias* husband was a young man of an ingeuuous diſpoſition; and ſeemingly capable of the fortunes which attended for him. Him being yet young, *Auguſtus* preferred to the *Pontificiall* dignity, and *Ædileſhip*; yet once upon his ſicknes, he privately determined,

to chooſe a ſucceſſor in the *Common-wealth*, rather than his owne family: & not to leave the Empire, unto *Marcellus*, whom he held unable to undergoe it; But to his companion in armes, *Agrippa*, a man daunted neither with adverſe, nor altered with proſperous fortunes.

## LXVII.

This *Marcellus* afterwards ſo ſtomacked, that hee beganne to grutch at *Agrippas* greatnes; and to beare a vigilant eye on his plots and actions. Contrary *Agrippa* unwilling to offend

offend him, under whoſe future government hee was in all likelyhood to end the reſt of his daies; with much adoe obteyned leave to retire unto *Lesbos*; that ſo his abſence eyther might allay, or remove the diſpleaſure, conceived againſt him by the young *Prince*. An action full of wiſedome & magnanimity. For though *Auguſtus* cheef end was, to diſcountenance the popular depẽdancies of his *ſonne*, by the favours heaped upon his ſervant: Yet did *Agrippa* know, that a Favorite ought to have ſo much

in him of the *Perſian Religion*; as to worſhip the *Riſing Sunne*, and that hee ſhould reſemble old *Ianus* with the two faces; with th'one looking on the *King Regnant*; with th'other, on the *Prince ſucceſſive*.

## LXVIII.

*Marcellus* being dead, *Agrippa* returning married his Widdow; and on her begat two ſonnes, *Caius* and *Lucius*, whoſe actions afterward afforded ſuch variety for cenſure, that

that there was wanting neither much reaſō to cō-mend, nor little to reprove them. On theſe two, or at the leaſt one of them, *Auguſtus* now growne aged, reſolves to ſettle the eſtate, and if they failed, upon ſuch others, as by the liberty of the Lawes, he might *adopt: Adoption*; in the eſtimation of the *Roman* Lawes, being indeed *an other nature*. Poſterity whether it be *naturall*, or onely *legall*, is the beſt *ſupporter* of the *Armes Imperiall*, Such as both fortifies the Prince,

and assures the subject. Yet this he did not without much reluctancy & a great cõflict in his mind. Some-
'times his thoughts sug-
'gested to him, that the de-
'signed *Successors* draw to
'them all the attendance,
'and respect, from the
'*Prince* in *possession*: that
'they have alwaies a lin-
'gring desire, to be actual-
'ly seated in the *Throne*:
'That they suppose the
'life of the present *Prince*,
'too tedious; not caring
'by what means it were
'shortned: That sometime
'it is pernicious, yea e-
'ven to the appointed
'Successor himselfe also.

On the other ſide, his better thoughts prompted him to conſider, in what a 'miſerable diſtraction he 'ſhould leave the *Empire*; 'if ſodaine death ſhould 'take from him an ability 'to nominate his heyre: 'The feare conceived in 'the whole *City*, at his laſt 'ſicknes: that *Pyrrhus* of '*Epirus*, was of all hands 'condemned, for leaving 'his *Kingdome* to the ſharp'peſt *ſword*; That the *Com*-'*mõ-wealth* falne into diſ-'ſentions, could not be ſet-'led againe without a la-'mẽtable war, & a bloudy victory: That the people

ſeeing him

'him and *childiſh*, would 'not only contemne him, 'but perhaps, endeavor to 'recover the old *liberty*; 'though with the ruine of 'the *State*: That it was 'the cuſtome of *Tyrants*, 'to deſire the eternizing 'of their deaths, by the downfall of their *Coũtries*.

## LXIX.

HIs minde thus diſtracted and perplexed, at laſt he brake, in this mãner. 'Thou haſt *Octavian* 'a Wolfe by the eares; 'which to hold ſtill, or to let

'let goe, is alike dange-
'rous. Many inconveni-
'ences may enſue, if thou
'doſt not declare thy *Suc-*
'*ceſſor*; More, if thou
'doſt. The good of the
'*Republique*, conſiſteth in
knowing the future *Prince*
'Thine owne welfare de-
'pendeth on the *conceale-*
'*ment*. The *Common good*
'is to be preferred before
'any *private*; Yet ought
'*Charity to begin at home*.
No, *Octavian* no; As thou
haſt receiv'd, ſo ſhew thy
ſelfe worthy of, the title
of *Pater Patriæ*. Yea, and
'perhaps this deſignation
'may ſecure thine owne

e-

'Eſtate. For what will it 'profit the people, to 'conteſt with thee when 'they ſhall ſee a ſucceſſor 'at hand, eyther of thine owne body, or thine own 'appointment, ready to 'take thy place, and re-'venge thy *wrongs*:

## LXX.

THus reſolved, he adopteth *Caius* and *Lucius*; deſiring, though he made ſhew to the contrary, they ſhould be *Conſuls Elect*, and called *Princes of the Youth*. Yet wiſely fore-caſting the dan-

gers incident to himſelfe, if they ſhould make their abode in *Rome*; he ſendeth them with honourable charge, into the Provinces abroad: as well to exerciſe them in *feates* of *Warre*, as to take away all cauſe of faction in the Court, and ſedition in the *Citty*. Which *myſtery* of *State* as it was anciently practiſed by moſt *Princes*, ſo at this day by the *Grand Seigneur*: who alwayes ſendeth his eldeſt ſonne unto *Amaſia*, as Governour thereof; from whence, till the death of his Father, he never returneth.

In

In theſe journeyes dyed the 2. young *Princes*, a miſhap which *Auguſtus* bare Nobly: neither baniſhing *griefe*, with a *Stoicall Apathy*; nor ſpending the time in womaniſh lamentations. having performed due rights to the dead, he adopted his Wives ſonne *Tiberius*: A man for the conveniency and ripenes of his age, not *unfit*, in *feates* of *Armes* not *unexpert*; in humane learning not ignorant: but withall ſuſpected to be cruelly given, and poſſeſſed with the hereditary pride of the *Claudian* family: A ſtrong

ſtrong medley of vertuous and vicious qualities. *Tiberius* ſuch was the will of his Father, to eſtabliſh the ſucceſſion, with more ſtayes than one, adopted *Germanicus*, his brother *Druſus* ſonne; Then cõmanding over 8. Legions in *Germany*, which done, he ſpeedeth to his charge in *Illyricum*: This man, *Auguſtus* appointed to be his heyre, as it was afterwards, & not improbability conjectured: neither in care to the State, nor in love to the party: but to win honour to himſelfe, and to make the *Roman*

*man people*, againe wiſh for him; whē they ſhould ſee that infinite diſproportion in all royall and Kingly qualities, between the old and new *Emperors*. A fetch after imitated by *Tiberius*, in the adoption of *Caius Caligula*.

## LXXI.

THe laſt (though not the leaſt) helpe of the *Empires* eſtabliſhment; was the long life and reigne of our *Auguſtus*: as having ruled the State 16. yeares before, and 44. yeares after his confirmation, in the *Soveraignty*; by

by the *Senate* and *people*. All the young men in the *City*, were borne after the firſt *Decennium*, of the *Monarchy*. Moſt of the old men during the Civill wars. Few had ſeene what was the ancient *forme* of *Government*; in the free *Commonwealth*: Many did not deſire it. For at the preſent, enjoying peace both at home & abroad, & hearing what ſad & tragicall reports their fathers made of the former troubles and *proſcriptions*: they cõtented themſelves with the new government; as more eſteeming a ſecure and

and happy *ſubiection*, than a dangerous and factious *liberty*. By which long time of *Empire*, and the policies already recited, beſides many others, which I can neither learne by *Relations*, nor gather by preſumptions; did *Auguſtus* ſo firmely ſettle the *Roman Monarchy*: that it continued many hundreds of yeares, immoveable & vnaltered; though all his immediate ſucceſſors were in a manner Monſters, incarnate divels, and indeed any thing rather than men. *Tiberius*, *Caius*, *Claudius*, *Nero*, *Galba* *Otho*,

*Otho*, and *Vitellius*, both by their owne *Tyrannies*, and their Bondmens extortion, would haue ruined any *Monarchy*, not founded by *Auguſtus*.

## LXXII.

TO ſpeake concerning the domeſtical affaires of this *Emperor*, is beyond my *Theme*. As either how farre he ſuffered himſelfe to bee ordered, by his Wife *Livia*, or whether hee uſed variety of women, not ſo much to ſatiſfie a diſordinate appetite, as

as by ſo many women to ſift out the ſecret deſignes of many men. Hee was too exact a Stateſman to be perfect in *Soldiery*: and in all his wars, was proſperous by fortune rather than by valor, or his *Captaines* valour, than his owne. The *Common-wealth* which hee found weake and in *Rubbiſh*; he left *Adamantine*, and invincible. In behaviour he was affable, and gracious; in his diſcourſe ſentencious: to the good, of a moſt ſweet diſpoſition; to the lewd and diſhoneſt, harſh and unpleaſant.

ſant, *Friendſhip* hee contracted with few, and that ſlowly; but to them, whom hee once loved, conſtant and bountifull to the laſt. Finally, ſuch a one hee was, of whom J will only ſay what I find ſpoken of SEVERUS. It had beene an ineffable benefit to the *Common wealth* of *Rome*, if either he had never *Dyed*, or never been *Borne*.

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FINIS.